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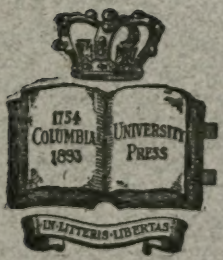
# MODERN PROVENÇAL PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY

STUDIED IN THE LANGUAGE OF FREDERIC MISTRAL

BY

HARRY EGERTON FORD, PH.D.

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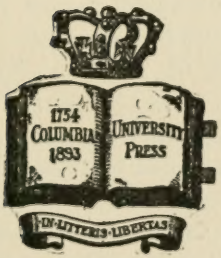


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# PREFACE

In the course of my studies at Johns Hopkins University in 1897, a remark of Professor A. Marshall Elliot directed my attention to the works of the *Félibrige*. My interest was linguistic rather than literary, and I soon found myself attracted to Frederic Mistral, the central figure in the entire *félibréen* movement. Desiring authoritative guidance, I addressed inquiries to the poet himself and received from him a very encouraging letter containing much useful information. He also put me in communication with M. Jules Ronjat, at that time secretary of the consistory of the *Félibrige*, to whom I feel greatly indebted for information on difficult points of pronunciation. My studies, interrupted by pressure of work, were resumed some time ago, and an added incentive was given by a trip to Provence in the summer of 1920 when I visited Maillane, the home of Mistral, and also spent some time at the *Musée Arlaten* at Arles. In this museum Mistral and the other *Félibres* have assembled many documents and relics of the old life of Provence. No one visiting Arles can fail to appreciate the position held by Mistral in the life of southern France. Inasmuch as the language of Mistral has had a determining influence on the forms of Modern Provençal in general, this study has been restricted to an investigation of his linguistic usage. I wish here to express my appreciation of the many helpful suggestions given me by Dr. H. A. Todd of Columbia University.

## ABBREVIATIONS

Adams = Adams, *Word Formation in Provencal*, New York, 1913.
Bk. Lat. = Book Latin.
Grandgent = Grandgent, *Old Provençal*, Boston, 1905.
Koschwitz Gr. = *Koschwitz, Grammaire historique de la langue des Félibres*, Avignon, 1894.
Meyer-Lübke = Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire des langues romanes*.
Meyer-Lübke, Castro = Meyer-Lübke, *Introducción al estudio de la lingüistica romance*, Madrid, 1914.
Meyer-Lübke, It. Gr. = Meyer-Lübke, *Italienische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1890.
Meyer-Lübke, Wört. = Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg, 1911–1920.
Mod. Fr. = Modern French.
Nyrop = Nyrop, *Grammaire historique de la langue française*, Copenhague, 1914.
Old Prov. = Old Provençal.
Pidal = Pidal, *Manual elemental de gramática historica española*, Madrid, 1905.
Rounjat Ourt. = Ronjat, *L'Ourtogràfi prouvençalo*, Avignon, 1908.

# MODERN PROVENÇAL PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY

## INTRODUCTION

1. The language studied in this dissertation is that used by Mistral, and the examples used to illustrate the various phenomena have been drawn, with few exceptions, from his works. In cases where examples were lacking or insufficient the author has drawn upon Mistral's *Tresor dóu Felibrige*.

2. In his *Tresor*, under the word *dialèite*, Mistral gives the following classification of the principal dialects of the modern *langue d'oc:*

> Les principaux dialectes de la langue d'Oc modernes sont: le provençal, le languedocien, le gascon, l'aquitain, le limousin, l'auvergnat et le dauphinois. Le provençal a pour sous-dialectes: le rhodanien, le marseillais, l'alpin, et le niçard. Le languedocien a pour sous-dialectes: le cévenol, le montpelliérain, le toulousain et le rouergat. Le gascon a pour sous-dialectes: l'armagnagnais, l'ariégeois, l'agenais et le quercinois. L'aquitain a pour sous-dialectes: le béarnais, le marensin, le bordelais, et le bazadais. Le limousin a pour sous-dialectes: le bas-limousin, le haut-limousin, le périgourdin et le marchois. L'auvergnat a pour sous-dialectes: le cantalien, le limagnien, le velaunien et le forézien. Le dauphinois a pour sous-dialectes: le briançonnais, le diois, le valentinois et le vivarais. Nous ne mentionnons pas dans cette classification les nombreuses variétés qui servent de transitions aux dialectes sus-nommés et qui procèdent des uns et des autres, tels que le biterrois, le narbonnais, le carcassonnais, le castrais, l'albigeois, le grenoblois, le tricastin, etc."

The above classification immediately suggests a question as to what Mistral understands by the word dialect. Does he in common with Groeber, Horning, Ascoli, etc., maintain that from the beginning in the Romance field there existed linguistic districts, the language of which, while differing from one point to another, presents to the observer certain distinct features that are characteristic, and the greater part of which are found in all portions of the district? Or does he support the doctrine adopted by Gaston Paris, Gilliéron, Suchier and Meyer-Lübke (Brunot, Vol. I, pp. 296–304)? Paul Meyer first stated this doctrine many years ago (Romania Vol. IV, pp. 293–294) and he concludes as follows:

> "Il s'ensuit que le dialecte est une espèce bien plutôt artificielle que naturelle; que toute définition du dialecte est une *definitio nominis* et non une *definitio rei*.

C'est pourquoi je suis convaincu que le meilleur moyen de faire apparaître sous son vrai jour la variété du roman consiste non pas à tracer des circonscriptions marquées par tel ou tel fait linguistique, mais à indiquer sur quel espace de terrain règne chaque fait."

Judging from the last sentence of the above quoted extract from Mistral it would seem that he has used the word dialect relatively, with a full consciousness of the inadequacy of the term. However that may be, his classification gives a good idea of the great variety found in the southern field.

Of the numerous dialects mentioned in Mistral's classification, one, which he calls *Rhodanien*, has far surpassed all the others in literary importance. It is Mistral's own language, including the sub-dialect spoken in his home town, Maillane, and the plain around St. Remy. Portal (*Letteratura provenzale* p. 6) speaks of it as follows:

"Non si può dire, per altro, che esso sia il più puro di tutti, perchè è molto mescolato al francese, mentre l'alpino sarebbe più vicino alla lingua madre e quello di Aix più tipico."

"Quello del Rodano ha il predominio per la dolcezza, la melodia e sopratutto per il prestigio che Mistral gli ha dato."

Rhodanien (*rodenen*, connected with the Rhone, Lat. RHODANUS, the Rhone) undoubtedly owes its importance to the work of Mistral. He has set a standard of excellence lacking in the other dialects and his language has served as a model for the *Felibres*.

3. The literary preëminence of Rhodanien dates from 1854, when seven Provençal writers founded the society of the *Felibrige* at the Château de Font-Segugne. The definite organization of the *Felibrige* into a great society with Mistral as the first *capoulié* (chief or president) took place in 1876. The members of this society were called *Felibres* and their avowed purpose was to promote the development of the *lengo d'o* in all its dialect forms. The original meaning of the word *Felibre* is doubtful. Mistral (Mem. e Rac. pp. 212–214) indicates the source of the word. In an old poem well known in the vicinity of Maillane, called the *Ouresoun de Sant-Ansèume*, mention is made of the child Jesus arguing in the temple "*Emé li sèt felibre de la lèi.*" Mistral proposed this term *Felibre* as a name for the members of their society and it was accepted. *Felibrige* is a collective, formed on the word *Felibre* by the use of the suffix *-ige*. The phrase cited seems to mean "with the seven doctors of the law" and rather supports the etymology given by Jeanroy (Rom. XXIII, 464)

*i.e.* Sp. *feligres*, Lat. FILII ECCLESIAE. As Meyer-Lübke (Wört. 3303) points out, this cannot be proven. He also remarks that the form *Felibre* may not be correct, as the poem mentioned by Mistral was preserved by oral tradition and the word may be a corruption of the original form. Mistral in his *Tresor*, under *Felibre*, gives the following résumé of the etymologies proposed for the word:

1. *Felibre* viendrait du latin *felibris* ou *fellebris*, mot qui se trouve dans Solinus, Isidore de Séville et Papias, et que Ducange interprète par nourrisson, *adhuc lacte vivens*, dérivé du verbe *fellare*, téter, lequel *fellare* a donné naissance à *filius*, fils. Les poètes de tout temps, ont été dénommés "nourrissons des Muses, *alumni Musarum*," et, comme le fait observer M. G. Garnier, *alumnus*, en latin, avait le sens actif et passif et désignait le disciple et le maitre comme *escoulan* en provençal. Il est à remarquer que le mot *tiroun*, qui, dans le texte populaire, semble synonyme de *felibre*, rappelle le verbe provençal *tira* signifiant aussi "têter." Le latin *tiro* veut dire novice.

2. *Felibre* viendrait du grec φιλεβραιος (ami de l'hébreu) mot qu'on trouve dans la grammaire hébraïque de Chevalier (1561) et qui a, de longue date, été appliqué dans les synagogues aux docteurs de la loi.

3. *Felibre* viendrait du grec φιλαβρος (ami du beau).

4. *Felibre* viendrait de l'irlandais *filea*, poète, barde.

5. *Felibre* viendrait du germanique *filibert*, dont le sens est encore inconnu.

6. *Felibre* viendrait du provençal *fe, libre*, libre par la foi.

7. *Felibre* viendrait de l'andalous *filabre* dont nous ignorons le sens. *La Sierra de Filabres* est une montagne d'Andalousie.

Quant à l'étymologie expliquant *felibre* par faiseur de livres elle ne supporte pas l'examen, attendu qu'elle n'est pas dans le génie de la langue, car on dirait en ce cas *fa-libre* ou *fai-libre*.

Whatever the etymology of the word, it has now been definitely established as designating one of the southern French poets.

It is not the intention in the present dissertation to discuss Mistral's literary work or the development of the *Felibrige*. Those interested in Mistral or the *Felibrige* will do well to consult Charles Alfred Downer, *Frédéric Mistral*, 1901, Columbia doctoral dissertation. Besides a discussion of Mistral's literary activity, this book contains a short but interesting sketch of the language and of the origins and aims of the *Felibres*. Another account of Mistral is found in Pierre Laserre, *Frédéric Mistral, poète, moraliste, citoyen* (Librairie Payot, Paris). For a treatment of the general movement the reader is referred to Roustan, *Pichoto istòri de la literaturo d'o*, Marseille, 1914, and Emile Ripert, *La Renaissance Provençale*, Paris, 1918. The latter work is particularly complete in its treatment of the origins and development of the whole southern dialect movement and the author

does not restrict himself to a discussion of the *Felibrige*. In chapter three of part five he gives also an excellent account of Mistral's early life and training. For those wishing to acquire a reading knowledge of Rhodanien I mention the following books, which were recommended to the writer by Mistral himself: Xavier de Fourvières, *Lou Pichot Tresor, Dictionnaire Provençal-Français et Français-Provençal; Grammaire et Guide de la Conversation provençales*, Avignon, 1902. Further useful information concerning the language is to be found in Nicholson, *Provençal Method*, Avignon, 1908, Jouveau, *Eléments de Grammaire Provençale*, Avignon, 1907, and Jules Ronjat, *L'Ourtougràfi prouvençalo*, Avignon, 1908. All these books may be obtained from the Librairie J. Roumanille, 19 rue Saint-Agricol, Avignon.

4. On account of the importance of Mistral in the literary development in southern France and because his language has become the standard of the *Felibres*, we are justified in undertaking in the following work a critical study of the phonology and morphology of his dialect. The only work of the kind is Koschwitz' *Grammaire Historique de la Langue des Felibres*, Roumanille, Avignon, 1894. Unfortunately for the scientific value of this book, Koschwitz had a double purpose. In his preface he says:

"Notre grammaire vise done essentiellement des buts pratiques. Elle veut bien servir aux études historiques et scientifiques sur la langue provençale mais surtout elle veut aider à l'étude directe de la langue parlée et écrite par la plupart des Felibres de la Provence."

Koschwitz could hardly have undertaken a more difficult task than to provide a grammar that should be a critical treatment of phonology and morphology and at the same time a manual for the purpose of acquiring the written and spoken language of the *Felibres*. He was conscious himself of the inadequacy of his book. Later on in his preface, he remarks:

"On y cherchera vainement l'explication physiologique des changements phonétiques qui ont créé, du latin rustique parlé en Provence au temps des Césars, la langue provençale d'aujourd'hui; la topographie des particularités phonétiques ou morphologiques qui distinguent notre idiome des idiomes voisins; la recherche des causes premières de ces developpements différents; la discussion des problèmes controversés qu'offre l'histoire de la langue provençale ancienne et moderne; la comparaison des sons et des formes de notre langue avec la langue classique des troubadours du moyen-âge."

Certain of these points such as the physiological explanation of the phonetic changes, the comparison of the sounds and forms

of the modern tongue with those of the language of the troubadours, are essential to an historical grammar. It is the aim of the present work to fill these gaps as regards phonology and morphology.

5. The works of Mistral which have been utilized for the following investigation, together with their dates of publication are: *Mirèio* (Edition G. Charpentier) 1859; *Calendau* (Lemerre) 1866; *Lis Isclo d'Or* (Lemerre) 1875; *Nerto* (Lemerre) 1884; *Tresor dóu Felibrige* (Champion) 1888; *La Rèino Jano* (Lemerre) 1890; *Lou Pouèmo dóu Rose* (Lemerre) 1897; *Memòri e Raconte* (Plon-Nourrit) 1906; *Lis Oulivado* (Lemerre) 1912. The above mentioned editions, with the exception of *Memòri e Raconte*, contain a face to face translation into French by Mistral himself. The translation of *Memòri e Raconte* is published separately.

6. Since the basis of Provençal, as of the other Romance languages, is Folk Latin and not Book Latin, we will commence with the Folk Latin system of sounds and trace these through the Old Provençal to the Rhodanien. Although Folk Latin is used as the basis, the etyma have been given in the Book Latin form as being more familiar to the reader than the Folk Latin form. In cases where the divergence between the two forms has made it desirable, the Folk Latin has been given in parentheses after the Book Latin. Etyma have been printed throughout in small capitals, Old Provençal words in lower case, and words from Rhodanien or any of the modern tongues in italics. In marking the quantity of the Latin vowels the practice has been to indicate the quantity of those vowels only which are under immediate discussion. Characters in brackets [ ] are the symbols of the International Phonetic Association.

## PART I.—PHONOLOGY

7. The fate of the vowels depends primarily on the stress of voice. The tendency is to be careful of the pronunciation of the stressed vowels while we pass negligently over the unstressed. The former, therefore, tend to remain, though often in a changed form, whereas the latter tend to weaken and even to disappear.

8. The primary stress divides polysyllables into two parts, a pretonic and a posttonic. The pretonic portion may consist of a single syllable as in HA | BÉRE, or of two as in BONI | TÁTEM, or occasionally of three as in AMICI | TÁTEM. The posttonic part may consist of a single syllable, as in HABÉ | RE or of two as in Á | NIMA.

There is a secondary stress on the initial syllable of Latin words and the initial vowels develop like the stressed vowels, although, the secondary stress not being as strong as the primary, the vowels of the initial syllable have a greater tendency to weaken than the vowel under the primary stress. A word of four syllables like BONITATEM falls naturally into two parts BONI- and -TATEM. The vowels O and A survive, while I and E disappear (cf. § 53). Following the custom of Nyrop and others we will call BO- the pretonic, -NI- the counterfinal, -TA- the tonic, and -TEM the final.

Proparoxytones (words stressed on the antepenult) like ANIMA, lose the atonic penultimate early (§ 56) and give forms like ANMA. In words like AMICI | TÁTEM where three syllables precede the primary stress, the pretonic portion of the word AMICI- resembles proparoxytones of the ÁNIMA type. We would expect the second vowel before the primary stress, which we will call the counterpenultimate, to disappear. This is not the case however, as the counterfinal falls and the counterpenultimate survives. (§ 57).

9. The vowels will be treated in the following order: stressed vowels under the heads "tonic" and "pretonic;" unstressed vowels under the heads "final," "counterfinal," "penultimate," "counterpenultimate."

10. Vowels may be "checked," *i.e.* followed by a consonant in the same syllable, as in POR | TAM, or "free" *i.e.* final in a syllable as in TA | LEM. (Nyrop I §§ 148, 149; Schultz-Gora § 20). This distinction, so important in the development of Old French, is

less so in Provençal. In some cases however it must be considered. (§ 33 et seq.)

11. The fate of the vowels depends also on the nature of the neighboring vowels and consonants, so we shall next discuss the development of the vowels affected by neighboring vowels or consonants.

12. The Latin vowel system I, E, A, O, U, OE, AE, AU, having been reduced to the Folk Latin sounds I, E close, E open, A, O open, O close, U, AU, we shall treat the latter as sources, discussing them in the order named.

## Stressed Vowels

### Folk Lat. I (Bk. Lat. Ī)

13. I tonic remains

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| MĪLLE | mil | *milo* |
| SCRĪPTUM | escrit | *escri* |
| VĪLLAM | vila | *vilo* |
| VĪTAM | vida | *vido* |

(a) *Fre*, Old Prov. freg indicates a Folk Latin FRĬGIDUM for Bk. Lat. FRĪGIDUM, due to the influence of RĪGIDUM (Meyer-Lübke, Wört., 3512). Spanish *frio* has come from the form with Ī.

14. I pretonic remains

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CĪVITATEM | ciutat | *ciéuta* |
| FĪLIOLUM | filhol | *fihòu* |
| LĪBERARE | liurar | *liéura* |

(a) In a very few cases, due to dissimilation I pretonic passes to *e* if the following stressed syllable contains Ī.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| DĪVĪNUM | devin | *devin* |
| DĪVĪSAT | devisa | *deviso* |
| VĪCĪNUM | vezin | *vesin* |

Remarks (1) In Old Provençal we find occasional doublets as FĪNĪRE, Old Prov. fenir, finir. Rhodanien has both *fini* and *feni* but the first is commoner and is the form always used by Mistral.

(2) It is to be noted that this phenomenon occurs also in Old French (Nyrop I § 151 Rem.) in these same words, even to the doublets fenir, finir.

(b) *Meraviko*, Old Prov. meravilha point to a Folk Latin MĒRABILIA or MĬRABILIA for Book Latin MĪRABILIA (Meyer-Lübke, Wört. 5601).

(c) *Premié*, Folk Latin PRIMARIUM, is unexplained unless it be due to French influence. *Proumié* owes its *ou* to the labial influence of the *m* which tends to round the preceding vowel (Grandgent, § 44, 1).

15. I tonic or pretonic frequently combined with a vocalized I or V giving the diphthong iu in early Provençal. About the 13th century this diphthong passed to the triphthong *iéu* (Grandgent § 32).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| FILUM | fiu | *fiéu* |
| LIBERARE | liurar | *liéura* |
| CIVITATEM | ciutat | *ciéuta* |

Rem. This change may have been due to the influence of the great number of triphthongs in *iéu* coming from forms like Old Prov. greu where the *e* diphthongized before *u* giving *griéu*. A different explanation is proposed by E. H. Tuttle in Mod. Phil., Vol. XVI, no. 11, p. 152.

16. Greek upsilon was usually treated as Latin I

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| MARTYR | martir | *martire* |
| MYRRHA | mirre | *mirro* |

(a) Occasionally Greek upsilon is represented by *ou*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| BYRSA | borsa | *bourso* |

(b) In *nerto*, Old Prov. nerta, Latin MYRTUS, Greek upsilon seems to have been treated like Latin ĭ (§ 17)

Folk Latin E close (Bk. Lat. Ē, Ĭ, OE).

17. E close, tonic, remains.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| BĬBET | beu | *béu* |
| FĬDEM | fe | *fe* |
| HABĒRE | aver | *avé* |
| MĒ | me | *me* |
| MĬTTERE | metre | *metre* |

(a) In many cases this *e* close is replaced by *e* open, written *è* or *e*.

(1) Preceding *i* coming from a vocalized *g* or *d*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CRĒDERE | creire | *crèire* |
| LĒGEM | lei | *lèi* |
| RĒGEM | rei | *rèi* |
| VĬDET | vei | *vèi* |

(2) Preceding *m* or *n* followed by a consonant or consonants demanding a supporting vowel.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| SĬMULAT | semble | *sèmblo* |
| VĒNDERE | vendre | *vèndre* |

(3) The ending -ĒTIS of the second person plural, present indicative has etz in Old Prov. with an open e from which *-ès* of the modern tongue is regular. The change from close e to open e in Old Provençal is due to the influence of etz of the verb estre, to be, where the e is open.

(4) In the present indicative, first person plural of verbs of the second, third, and fourth conjugations, where Old Provençal has em we find *èn* due probably to the influence of the second person plural in *ès* from the Old Provençal etz, where the e is open.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CREDĒMUS | crezem | *cresèn* |

(b) Doublets with *ei* for *e* are occasionally found such as *crei*, *fei*, *mei*, etc. These forms are French (Grandgent § 25, 3; Schultz-Gora § 26).

(c) Numbers of learned words show open e for Latin ē and i for Latin ĭ.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CAMĒLUM | camel | *camèu* |
| CANDĒLA | candela | *candèlo* |
| COMPLĒTUM | complet | *coumplèt* |
| DECRĒTUM | decret | *decrèt* |
| FIDĒLIS | fizel | *fidèu* |
| SECRĒTUM | secret | *secrèt* |
| -ĬBILIS | -ible | *-ible* |

Remark. *camèu*, *candèlo*, and *fidèu* probably show the influence of the numerous words in *èu* from the suffix -ĔLLUS (Schultz-Gora § 28; Grandgent § 25).

(d) Rhodanien *vint* seems to be the one remaining example of a phenomenon quite general in Romance territory, called in German, umlaut, and in French, inflection. In Old Provençal e close, tonic was raised to i under the influence of a posttonic ī (Meyer-Lübke I § 79). This phenomenon must be studied in the following cases: the first and second person singular of the perfect, the nominative plural of the Latin second declension, and VĪGĬNTĪ. As an example of the change in the verbs we will use FĒCĪ, PRĒSĪ; as example of nominative plural of the second declension we will

use ĭllī. We will also give the corresponding forms in Old French and Modern French for the sake of comparison.

| Latin | Old Prov. | Rhodanien | Old French | Modern French |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| fēcī | fis | *faguère* | fis | *fis* |
| fecĭstī | fezist | *faguères* | fesis | *fis* |
| prēsī | pris | *prenguère* | pris | *pris* |
| presĭstī | prezist | *prenguères* | presis | *pris* |
| ĭllī | il | *éli* | il | *ils* |
| vīgĭntī | vint | *vint* | vint | *vingt* |

A glance at these forms will show that, (1) in Old Provençal and Old French the inflection worked regularly, (2) in Modern French the regular phonetic laws have been followed in the first person singular of the perfects, in the pronoun *il*, and in *vingt*, while the second person singular of the perfects has been made over by analogy with the first person, (3) in Rhodanien analogical formations have replaced the first and second singular of the perfects (§ 186 et seq.), and in *il* (§§ 177, 178), while *vint* remains.

Remark. (1) In Old Provençal we also find traces of this influence in the plurals of nouns of the second Latin declension. In Boecis I, 231 we find auzil, Lat. aucĕllī. Grandgent (§ 27, 1) also mentions cabil, Lat. capĭllī. In the case of the nouns the analogy of the other cases caused these forms to disappear early.

Remark. (2) Closely related to this influence is the effect in Italian of a palatal or guttural combination following the Latin vowels ĭ, ŭ. Thus we have in Italian, *lingua*, Lat. lĭngua; *ciglio*, Lat. cĭlium; *mischia*, Lat. mĭsculat; *pugno*, Lat. pŭgnum; *giungere*, Lat. jŭngere (Meyer-Lübke, It. Gr. § 69, § 70). A similar phenomenon occurs in Spanish and Portuguese (Meyer-Lübke, I § 79; Pidal § 11). In Spanish the forms of the radical-changing verbs (such as *pedí, pidió; morí, murió*) offer frequent examples. The umlaut in German and Anglo-Saxon is of the same nature. In all these cases the change in the stressed vowel seems to be produced by anticipation of a sound to be produced later in the word.

(e) The hiatus ĭ following the tonic syllable may account for the *i* in the following words, although they are more probably learned words. (Grandgent § 25, 2b).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| camĭsia | camisa | *camiso* |
| famĭlia | familha | *famiho* |

(f) E close in hiatus became i (Grandgent § 26).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| LĬGAT | lia | *lio* |
| VĬAM | via | *vio* |

18. E close, pretonic, remains.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CĬRCARE | cercar | *cerca* |
| DĒBERAJO | deverai | *deurai* |
| FĪRMARE | fermar | *ferma* |
| PĒNSARE | pesar | *pesa* |

## Folk Latin E open (Bk. Lat. Ę AE)

19. E open, tonic remains.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| BĔLLUM | bel | *bèu* |
| CAELUM | cel | *cèu* |
| FĔRRUM | ferre | *ferre* |
| MĔRUM | mer | *mèr* |
| PĔDEM | pe(d) | *pè(d)* |

20. E open, pretonic, becomes *e* close.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CĔREBELLUM | cervel | *cervèu* |
| FĔNESTRA | fenestra | *fenèstro* |
| LĔVARE | levar | *leva* |
| NĔPOTEM | nebot | *nebout* |
| SĔRVIRE | servir | *servi* |

## Folk Latin A (Bk. Lat. A)

21. A tonic remains.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ĀLAM | ala | *alo* |
| ĂRBOREM | albre | *aubre* |
| MĂRE | mar | *mar* |
| PĂRTEM | part | *part* |

(a) A few forms have *e* appearing for A. Some of these must be explained by changes in the Folk Latin vocabulary. Thus *alegre* is not from ÁLACREM but from a Folk Latin form ALĔCREM which also explains Old Fr. haliegre (Meyer-Lübke, Castro. § 92; Wört. 307). *Griéu* is not from GRAVEM but from a Folk form GRĔVEM due probably to analogy with LĔVEM (Meyer-Lübke Wört. 3855).

(b) *Mèstre*, in Old Provençal appears as maistre, maestre, and

mestre. The latter form prevailed perhaps under the influence of the Old Fr. maistre, as *mèstre* represented better the French diphthong (Grandgent § 25, 2b).

22. A pretonic remains.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ĂMARE | amar | *ama* |
| ĂMOREM | amor | *amour* |
| CĂMINUM | camin | *camin* |
| HĂBĒRE | aver | *avé* |

(a) *Jita.* All the Romance forms point to a Folk Latin JĔCTARE. Even in this form the treatment of the CT is not regular (§ 116, 2a) as C has disappeared. Old Provençal has getar and gitar. The latter must be a form from the northwest where there was a strong tendency to change pretonic *e* to *i* (Grandgent § 14, 3).

(b) *Chivau* also shows dialectic influence. The regular form *cavau* is found but rarely. The *ch* of the word points to a Gascon or Franco-provençal origin. (§ 115, 2a.)

## Folk Latin o open (Bk. Lat. ŏ)

23. O open, tonic remains.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CŎRNU | corn | *cor* |
| CŎLLUM | col | *còu* |
| CŎRDA | corda | *cordo* |
| FILIŎLUM | filhol | *fihòu* |
| PRŎBA | prova | *provo* |
| VŎLET | vol | *vòu* |

24. O open, pretonic becomes *ou* [u] which must not be confused with the diphthong *óu* or *òu* (Koschwitz, § 2, 1).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CŎLOREM | color | *coulour* |
| CŎRONA | corona | *courouno* |
| DŎRMIRE | dormir | *dourmi* |
| LŎCARE | logar | *louga* |
| PŎRTARE | portar | *pourta* |
| VŎLERE | voler | *voulé* |

(a) Mistaken etymology or a change of prefix explains other vowels found in place of ou as *escur*, Old Prov. escur, Lat. ŏBSCURUM where the first syllable of the word has been replaced by the prefix EX-. In *redoun*, Old Prov. redon, Lat. RŏTUNDUS, we see the result of a Folk Lat. RETUNDUS due to a confusion of

RO- with the prefix RE- (Meyer-Lübke, Wört. 7400). *Prefound*, Old Prov. prefon (preon), Lat. PROFUNDUS shows a confusion of PRO- with the prefix PRE-. In Old Prov. redon and prefon, Schultz-Gora sees vowel dissimilation. (Schultz-Gora § 49).

Remark. In Rhodanien o open, or close, gave the same result in the pretonic position. (§ 26).

### Folk Latin o close (Bk. Lat. ō, ŭ).

25. o close, tonic, becomes *ou* [u].

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| AMŌREM | amor | *amour* |
| CŌRTEM | cort | *court* |
| DOLŌREM | dolor | *doulour* |
| FLŌREM | flor | *flour* |
| GŬLA | gola | *goulo* |
| GŬSTUM | gost | *goust* |
| MŬSCA | mosca | *mousco* |
| SŌLUM | sol | *soul* |
| TŬRREM | tor | *tour* |

(a) A number of words show irregularity. *Iòu*, Old Prov. ou (uou) demand a Folk Lat. ŏVUM instead of Bk. Lat. ōVUM (Grandgent §§ 167, 217; Meyer-Lübke, I, pp. 246–248). *Mot*, Folk Latin MŬTTUM (Meyer-Lübke, Wört., 5795) is probably French although the *o* in French is close. The open *o* of the Rhodanien word is due to the tendency of the Rhodanien to open the tonic *o*. Some of the southern dialects have also *mout*, the regular form. *Noro*, Old Prov. nora, Lat. NŬRA, shows the influence of SŏROR or SŏCRUS (Meyer-Lübke, Wört. 6000; Grandgent § 33, 1).

(b) In some cases a Latin ŭ is represented by *u*. While this may show a varying quantity in Folk Latin, most of the words seem rather to be learned.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| STŬDIAT | estudia | *estudio* |
| STŬDIUM | estudi | *estùdi* |
| REFŬGIUM | refugi | *refuge* |

Remark. In Italian a palatal combination following ŭ had the power of retaining the ŭ or else of raising o close to *u*. (Meyer-Lübke, It. Gr. § 70). This influence apparently was active in Old Provençal giving such forms as punh, unher, beside the regular ponh, onher. Rhodanien shows no trace of this phenom-

enon unless one attributes to it the examples in sect. 25b above which seem rather to be learned.

26. o close, pretonic, becomes *ou* [u].

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CŌRTENSEM | cortes | *courtés* |
| CŬBARE | covar | *couva* |
| DŬBITARE | doptar | *douta* |
| NŌDARE | nodar | *nouda* |
| NŬTRIRE | norir | *nouirri* |
| SPŌNSARE | esposar | *espousa* |
| SŬBINDE | sovent | *souvènt* |

### Folk Latin u (Bk. Lat. ū)

27. u tonic remains but is pronounced [y].

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| BRŪMA | bruma | *brumo* |
| FŪSTUM | fust | *fust* |
| HABŪTUS | avutz (agutz) | *agu* |
| NŪDUS | nutz | *nus* |
| PŪRUM | pur | *pur* |

(a) *Vounge*, Old Prov. onze is from a Folk Latin ŬNDECEM which replaced ŪNDECEM in Gallic territory. The *v* is due to labial rounding in preparation for the *ou* (§ 165).

(b) *Noço*, Old Prov. nossas, Lat. NŪPTIAS. The Bk. Lat. NŪPTIAS became NŎPTIAS under the influence of NŎVIA, bride, or perhaps under the influence of NŎCTEM (Meyer-Lübke, Wört. 5999). The late Dr. Menger dictated the following explanation to his class in philology at Johns Hopkins University in 1896: "The bride was called the NŎVA NŪPTA. The vowel of NŎVA affected the ū of NŪPTA and the phrase became NŎVA NŎPTA. From this source came the open o of NŎPTIAS."

Remark. The date of the change of [u] to [y] is not definitely known. There is no [y] in Catalan, which in many particulars represents an early stage of the Provençal. The change represents a fronting of the [u] passing through all the stages from high-back-round [u], to high-front-round [y]. Spanish, Roumanian, and Italian do not show this change. (Nyrop, I § 187).

(c) Latin NŪBEM gave nuu by a vocalization of b (§ 103, 1). Dissimilation produced Old Prov. niu which in the 13th century gave regularly *niéu* (§ 15).

28. U pretonic remains but is pronounced [y].

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CŪRARE | curar | *cura* |
| FŪROREM | furor | *furour* |
| JŪDICARE | jutjar | *juja* |
| ŪSARE | uzar | *usa* |

Folk Latin AU (Bk. Lat. AU, AVI, ABU, ABO, ABI)

29. AU tonic remains.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| AUCA | auca | *auco* |
| CAUSA | causa | *causo* |
| GAUDIUM | gaug | *gau* |
| PARAULA | paraula | *paraulo* |
| PAUCUM | pauc | *pau* |

(a) *Or*, Old Prov. aur, Lat. AURUM, is French or Catalan, while *tresor*, Old Prov. tesaurs is the French word or else is influenced by *or*.

(b) Besides gaug, Lat. GAUDIUM, Old Provençal had a form, ioia, which was probably French. This latter has given a form *joio* in the modern tongue although *gau* the regular form is found also.

30. AU pretonic remains.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| AUDIRE | auzir | *ausi* |
| AUCELLUM | auzel | *aucèu* |

(a) If the next syllable contained stressed Ū, the AU was reduced to A in Folk Latin (Meyer-Lübke, Castro. § 122).

(b) Bk. Lat. AUSCULTARE was reduced to ASCOLTARE then by a confusion of AS- with the prefix EX- became Old Provençal escoltar (Schultz-Gora, § 47), in the modern tongue *escouta*. Bk. Lat. AUGURIUM gave Folk Lat. AGURIUM which gave the Old Prov. aur. In Rhodanien *ur* the initial a has fallen. (cf. Old Fr. eur, Mod. Fr. *heur*).

31. As the fate of the vowels depends not only on the stress but also on the neighboring vowels and consonants, we will next discuss the effect of these influences.

## DIPHTHONGIZATION

32. Diphthongization which in French depends on the position of the vowel in a close or open syllable, in Provençal depends partially also on the character of the surrounding sounds.

33. E open, tonic, free, diphthongizes to *ie* under the following conditions:

(1) If the following syllable contains Ī.

(2) If the following syllable contains an hiatus I or E.

(3) If immediately followed by yod, or a palatal that weakened to yod plus a consonant.

(4) If immediately followed by U.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| DĔUM | dieu | *diéu* |
| FĔRIA | fiera | *fiero* |
| HĔRĪ | ier | *ier* |
| MĔDIA | mieia | *miejo* |
| MĔUM | mieu | *miéu* |
| MINISTĔRIUM | mestier | *mestié* |
| PĔCTUM | pietz | *pié(s)* |
| PĔJUS | pieis | *pièje* |
| SĔX | sieis | *sièis* |
| VĔCLUM | vielh | *vièi* |

(a) *Glèiso*, Old Prov. gleiza, Lat. ECCLĔSIA shows many forms in the various dialects. Old Prov. has gleiza, glieza, and glieiza. Rhodanien has preserved the first form without the diphthongization in *glèiso*.

Remark. (1) In the diphthong *ie* the *e* is sometimes open and sometimes close. It is close before *u*, when final, or before a silent consonant. It is open before a sounded consonant or before *i*.

Remark. (2) It is to be noted that i < D, or u < L do not cause diphthongization while i < a palatal, or u < V do. Evidently the diphthongization was complete before D and L vocalized to i and u.

34. O open, tonic, free, diphthongized to *uo* or *ue* under the same conditions as E open, to *ie*. The *u* of these combinations was apparently pronounced [u] or [y] depending on the region (§ 37a, Rem. 1, 2) as the modern dialects show derivation now from one form, now from the other.

35. O open, tonic followed by a consonant plus yod gave *ue* [œ].

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| BRŎGILOS | brolh | *bruei* |
| CŎCITUM | cuech | *cue* |
| CŎRIUM | cuer | *cuer* |
| FŎLIAM | fuelha | *fueio* |
| HŎDIE | uei | *vuei* |
| LŎNGE | lonh(luenh) | *luen* |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| NŎCTEM | nuech | *nue* |
| ŎCTO | ueg | *ue* |
| ŎCLUM | uelh | *uei* |
| PLŎVIA | ploja | *plueio* |
| *RECŎLG(RECOLLIGERE) | recolh | *recuei* |

(a) There is a tendency in Rhodanien to develop *i* before this *ue*. Thus we have in Rhodanien *kiue, cuc; viuei, vuei; liuen, luen; niue, nue; iuei, ue; iue, uei*. Of these forms Mistral uses *kiue* and *cue* but only *vuei, liuen, niue, vue* and *iue*. I have been unable to find any satisfactory explanation for these forms. They may possibly be the crossing of such dialect forms as *nié, niech*, with the more regular form *nue*.

(*b*) Latin PŎSTEA gave pois in Old Provençal. The open o diphthongized giving pueis from which the Rhodanien *pièi* must have arisen by the unrounding of the first element [y] (§ 37a. Rem. 1). We would expect *puei* (§ 35).

36. o open, tonic followed by c has diphthongized in FŎCUM and LŎCUM. In Old Provençal doublets are found fuoc, fuec; luoc, luec. The Rhodanien forms *fiò, liò* are survivals of the forms fuoc, luoc in which the *u* was pronounced [y]. The Rhodanien form is produced by the unrounding of this [y]. The dialect of Marseille has *fue* and *lue* survivals of the forms fuec and luec.

(a) Latin JŎCUM gave three forms in Old Provençal ioc, juoc, juec. Rhodanien *jò* is probably from ioc although phonetically it may come from juoc through *jiò* which later would be reduced to *jò*. The Marseille dialect has *jue* from juec. In *cò*, Old Prov. coc, cuoc, Lat. CŌQUUM (CŎCUM) Rhodanien has preserved the undiphthongized form or taken the form from some dialect where the diphthongization does not occur.

37. o open, tonic followed by *u*, which may be original or from a vocalized v, but not from a vocalized L (§ 33a, Rem. 2) gives *iò*. The process is the same as in *liò, fiò* (§ 36). The *i* is the result of the unrounding of [y].

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| BŎVEM | buou | *biòu* |
| ŎVUM | uou | *iòu* |

(a) Rhodanien *nòu*, Lat. NŎVUM and *nòu*, Lat. NŌVEM show the preservation of undiphthongized forms or else the introduction of forms from some dialect where diphthongization does not occur.

Remark. The explanation of the results of the diphthongization of o open is inseparably connected with the discussion of the pronunciation of u in Old Provençal and the results in the modern dialects seem to throw some light on this question. While the number of examples is in some cases so small that it is dangerous to generalize, still there are some conclusions that can be drawn:

(1) Rhodanien *ue* [œ]. There is no reason to assume that the development in this case is different from that of the French. The original open o diphthongized to uo, ue. While in French the uo form preceded the ue, in Provençal they seem to have existed side by side. The earliest example that we have of the diphthongization of o is uel, Lat. ŏculi (Boeci 1, 203). Whatever ue was originally it finally became a rising diphthong [wɛ]. The second element [ɛ] was rounded by the influence of the labial [w], giving [wœ] which was later reduced to [œ] (Nyrop I, § 178). The result here shows that the first element in the diphthong was [u] not [y]. While it is phonetically possible that [yɛ] might become [ɥɛ], then [ɥœ] and finally [œ] still it seems probable that if the first element had been [y], we would have had the result found in the next section. In Languedoc indeed we do have this development, giving such forms as *kièr, fièio, ièi, nié, ièch,* for Rhodanien *cuer, fueio, vuei, nue, vue.* Rhodanien *pièi* (§ 35b) is also an example of this same development or else is a form from the dialect of Languedoc. This would prove that in the Rhodanien territory the first element of ue in Old Provençal was pronounced [u] but that the pronunciation varied according to the region as shown by the results in Languedoc for it is phonetically impossible for [i] to come from [u] except by passing through the stage [y]. The pronunciation of the modern *ue* varies in the different regions. While in Rhodanien it is always [œ] when not combined with *i* to form a diphthong, in other dialects it is pronounced as a true diphthong [wɛ]. Rhodanien *uei* is a falling diphthong [œi]. Koschwitz (§ 13) says that in *orguei* it is a triphthong [wei]. Koschwitz must have been thinking of the pronunciation of this word in the Marseille dialect for not only does Mistral rhyme *orguei* and *juei* (Isclo d'Or p. 298, 11, 7, 8) but Ronjat (Ourtogràfi, p. 8) states that *ue* is always [œ] like French *eu* and (Ourtogràfi p. 10) gives *uei* as triphthong in the Marseille dialect.

(2) Rhodanien *iò.* The source of this diphthong is Old Provençal uo (§ 37) in which the first element must have been [y]

as [i] is phonetically impossible from [u] except through the stage [y].

The results vary in the different regions. When this *iò* is final in a word the dialect of Marseille uses *ue*. Thus we have *fue* [fwɛ], lue [lwɛ] for Rhodanien *fiò*, *liò*. On the contrary where the *iò* precedes *u* as in *biòu*, *iòu*, the results are more regular and we seldom have *uc* but we do have *uo* in some of the dialects. These results force us to the conclusion that while in Rhodanien territory the first element of the diphthong ue was pronounced [y] in Old Provençal, in some other regions it was pronounced [u]. The statement (Grandgent § 37) that one pronunciation influenced the other seems to be supported by the results in the modern dialects.

### Influence of the Palatals

38. We will now discuss the influence of the palatals upon the contiguous vowels. Some special cases of this influence have already been treated in the preceding sections which deal with diphthongization of ĕ and ŏ. There remain the other vowels and the cases where ĕ and ŏ do not diphthongize.

39. I followed by yod. The yod is absorbed by the I.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| AMĪCITATEM | amistat | *amista* |
| DĪCERE | dire | *dire* |
| DĪCTARE | dicta | *dita* |
| SALSĪCIA | salsisa | *saussisso* |
| TĪTIONEM | tizon | *tisoun* |

(a) In *dita*, Old Prov. dicta, Lat. DĪCTARE, there is a strong suspicion of learned origin. The treatment of the CT is not popular (§ 116, 2a, b).

(b) Bk. Lat. FRĪGERE must have been replaced by Folk Lat. FRĪGERE. This verb changed conjugation, giving Old Provençal fregir from which we get Rhodanien *fregi* (cf. LĔGERE, Rhodanien, *legi*).

(c) For FRĪGIDUM see § 13a.

40. E close, tonic, followed by yod gives the decreasing diphthong *èi*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| LĒGEM | lei | *lèi* |
| PĬSCEM | peis | *pèis* |

(a) In the pretonic position this diphthong becomes *ei* with a close e as *èi* is not found in the pretonic position. Thus we have *lèi*, but *leiau* with *e* close.

41. E close, plus L mouillé. The cases where we have e close followed by L mouillé are important enough to demand separate treatment. There are two cases, (a) the L mouillé is final, (b) the L mouillé is intervocalic.

(a) When L mouillé is final the palatalization of the L disappears, L is vocalized to *u* and *e* close becomes open.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ARTĬCULUM | artelh | *artèu* |
| FATĬCULUM | fadelh | *fadèu* |
| FORNĬCULUM | fornelh | *fournèu* |
| PARĬCULUM | parelh | *parèu* |
| SOLĬCULUM | solelh | *soulèu* |

Remark. The suffix -elh in Old Provençal had usually a close e but there were frequently forms with open e. The palatalization may have been lost very early and the e close have become e open before the l, perhaps under the influence of the very large number of words in -el (Adams p. 171) from Lat. -ĔLLUS. We may however be dealing simply with suffix confusion and the words in -elh may have gone over to those in -el. Adams (p. 171) mentions the opposite change *i.e.* some words in -ĔLLUS which have become -el (Grandgent § 67, 2). There are three reasons that support this last theory. (1) The change to *u* is the treatment of final *l* (§ 80) not of L mouillé (§ 83). (2) The change of *e* close to *e* open would be unusual before L mouillé. We would rather expect a retention of *i* (§ 17d). (3) The treatment of *o* close in this position is not similar (§ 44).

(b) When L mouillé is intervocalic the palatalization of L remains but is represented in Rhodanien by *h*, pronounced like modern French L mouillé [j].

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| APĬCLA | abelha(abilha) | *abiho* |
| ARBORĬCLA | arborelha | *arboriho* |
| AURĬCLA | aurelha | *auriho* |
| FURNĬCLA | fornilha | *fourniho* |
| MANĬCLA | manilha | *maniho* |
| OVĬCLA | ovelha | *ouviho* |

Remark. At first glance one might be tempted to explain these forms in *-iho* as the effect of the palatal *l* but we find that in Old Provençal there were sometimes forms in -elha and sometimes forms in -ilha and sometimes doublets. We seem to be dealing with a confusion of the Latin suffixes -ĪCLUS and -ĭCLUS (Adams p. 71) rather than with a phonetic change.

42. A followed by yod gives the falling diphthong *ai*, pronounced like *-ail* in French *travail*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ACQUAM | aiga | *aigo* |
| AEREM | aire | *aire* |
| EXAGIUM | asai | *assai* |
| FACERE | faire | *faire* |
| MAJUM | mai | *mai* |
| RADIUM | rai | *rai* |

(a) If this diphthong is in the pretonic position it becomes *ei* with close *e*. Thus we have *aire*, *aigo*, but *eirega*, *eiga*.

Remark. It is to be noted that the diphthong *ai* whatever be its source, as well as the diphthong *èi*, becomes *ei* with *e* close in the pretonic position. Thus we have *paire*, *maire*, *traire*, *rèino*, *lèi*, but *peirau*, *meirenau*, *treirau*, *reiau*, *leiau*. However we find *ai* irregularly in the future and conditional of *jaire*, *caire*, where we should have had *ei; jairai*, *jairiéu; cairai*, *cairiéu*. This is due to analogy with the infinitive where the diphthong is tonic.

(b) For *ouresoun*, *resoun*, *sesoun* see § 151, 2 (1).

(c) For -ARIUS see § 149, 3b, Rem.

43. o open, followed by yod should give *ue* or *uei* (§ 35). In CŎQUERE (CŎCERE), NŎCERE the o open has not diphthongized and we have in Rhodanien *couire*, *nouire*, the same development as for o close (§ 44).

44. o close followed by yod gives the falling diphthong *oui* both in the tonic and pretonic position.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ANGŬSTIAM | angoisa | *angouisso* |
| CŌFEA | coifa | *couifo* |
| FENŬCULUM | fenolh | *fenoui* |
| GENŬCULUM | genolh | *geinoui* |
| PŌTIONEM | poizon | *pouisoun* |
| RANŬCULA | granolha | *granouio* |

Remark. The *ou* of *oui* is a simple close vowel [u] and must not be confused with the diphthong *óu*.

(a) For CŬNEUM see § 74, 2a.

45. u followed by yod. The examples are few. Nyrop (I, § 205) marks the u of BUXUM long but Rhodanien *bouis* shows the result of a short u. In *coundurre*, Lat. CONDŪCERE and *agusa*, Lat. ACŪTIARE, the palatal has left no trace. In *aguio*, Old Provençal agulha, Lat. ACŪCULA (Meyer-Lübke, Wört. 119) we have an example of the regular development *i.e. ui* or *uio*.

46. AU followed by yod is preserved in *gau*, Old Provençal gaug, Lat. GAUDIUM. Rhodanien *nouiso*, Old Provençal noiza, Lat. NAUSEA shows the influence of the French *noise*.

(a) For a discussion of *joio*, Lat. GAUDIA see § 29b.

### Influence of the Nasals

47. The nasals *m* and *n* have a tendency, as in French, to communicate part of their nasality to the preceding vowel. In certain parts of the Provençal field Folk Latin E open and O open became close before the nasals. Rhodanien has retained the original quality of the vowels in this position and there is no confusion of *en* and *an*. The nasal is not as marked as in French and *m* and *n* do not become silent but assume the sound of the velar nasal in English sing [ŋ]. Compare the French enfant [ãfã] with Rhodanien enfant [ẽŋfãŋ].

### Unaccented Vowels

#### Finals

48. All the final atonic vowels disappear except A (§ 52)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| AMICUM | amic | *ami* |
| COLAPHUM | colp | *cop* |
| CORNUM | corn | *cor* |
| HABERE | aver | *avé* |
| PANEM | pan | *pan* |

(a) Before final *-nt* of verbs E and U are retained as *e* and *o*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CANTENT | canten | *canten* |
| VENDUNT | vendon | *vendon* |

(b) Latin Ī and Ū survive if they immediately follow an accented vowel.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| MEĪ | mei(miei) | *mi* |
| MEŪM | meu | *miéu* |
| DEŪM | deu | *diéu* |

49. Certain groups of final consonants require a supporting vowel. These groups may be primitive or may have been produced by the dropping of an unaccented vowel between consonants. This vowel may be regarded as a remnant of the original vowel or as a vowel added for ease of pronunciation. The vowel is *e* unless these combinations were followed by *a* (§ 52).

50. The groups of consonants demanding a supporting vowel are as follows:

(1) A consonant followed by L or R.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ALTER | autre | *autre* |
| CURRERE | corre | *courre* |
| DUPLUM | doble | *double* |
| RUMPERE | rompre | *roumpre* |

(2) A labial followed by a dental.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| COMITEM | comte | *coumte* |
| DEBITUM | depte | *dèute* |
| HOMINEM | omne | *ome* |
| HOSPITEM | oste | *oste* |

(3) In proparoxytones a consonant followed by C.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| DUODECEM | dotze | *douge* |
| JUDICEM | jutge | *juge* |
| MEDICUM | metge | *mege* |

(4) In proparoxytones a consonant followed by M.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| DECIMUM | desme | *dèime* |

(5) In some cases a consonant followed by yod.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| GEORGIUS | Jortge | *Jorge* |
| RABIEM | ratge | *rage* |
| RUBEUM | rotge | *rouge* |
| SOMNIUM | songe | *sounge* |

(6) In the groups LM, RM, SM, but rather irregularly.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| GERMEN | germe | *germe* |
| HELM | elme | *èume* |
| SPASIMUM | espasme | *espaime* |
| ULMUM | olme | *óume* |

51. In many cases the first of the two consonants has disappeared or has vocalized. This change took place in some cases in Old Provençal in others not till modern times.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| BIBERE | beure | *beure* |
| CREDERE | creire | *crèire* |
| FACERE | faire | *faire* |
| JUDICEM | jutge | *juge* |
| PAUPERUM | paubre | *paure* |

52. Final A atonic (§ 48) is preserved in Old Provençal but is represented in Rhodanien by unstressed *o*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| AMICA | amiga | *amigo* |
| BONA | bona | *bono* |
| FAMILIA | familha | *famiho* |

Remark. This *o* represents practically the same sound as the French mute *e* although there is slightly more rounding. In early French texts there is some confusion in the representation of this sound. In the Oaths of Strasbourg we have poblo, fradre, fradra.

### COUNTERFINALS

53. Counterfinals disappear (except A § 55).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| BONITATEM | bontat | *bounta* |
| CIVITATEM | ciutat | *ciéuta* |
| COLLOCARE | colgar(cochar) | *coucha* |
| MANDUCARE | manjar | *manja* |
| MISCULARE | mesclar | *mescla* |
| RADICINA | racina | *racino* |
| SANITATEM | santat | *santa* |

54. Certain groups of consonants (§ 50) necessitate a supporting vowel.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CALUMNIARE | calomniar | *calounia* |
| PAPILIONEM | pabalhon | *pavaioun* |
| PEREGRINUM | pelegrin | *pelerin* |

(a) The retention of the vowel in other cases is due to analogy with some cognate word. Thus the retention of the counterfinal in *amourous*, *pertusa*, *couloura*, is due to analogy with *amour*, *pertus*, *coulour*.

(b) This is especially common in the case of a number of substantives formed from verbs with the suffixes -MENTUM, -TURA, as *ferimen*, *vestidouro* from *feri*, *vesti*.

(c) The counterfinal is retained in learned words such as *irrita*, *capitan*, *visita*, *verita*.

55. A counterfinal remains.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CANTATOREM | cantadour | *cantadou* |
| INVASIONEM | envasion | *envasioun* |
| MARGARITA | margarida | *margarido* |
| OCCASIONEM | ocasion | *oucasioun* |

### Penultimates

56. Atonic penultimate vowels usually disappear.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ARBOREM | albre | *aubre* |
| ASINUM | asne | *ase* |
| CAMERA | cambra | *cambro* |
| CREDERE | creire | *crèire* |
| VIRIDEM | vert | *verd* |

(a) This phenomenon was not as common in Provençal as in French. In Old Provençal we find the penultimates have remained in the following cases though the stress has been shifted so that they are no longer proparoxytones.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| LÁMPADA | lampéza | *lampéso* |
| LÁGRIMA | lagréma | *lagrémo* |
| PÚLVEREM | polvéra | *polvéro* |
| TÉPIDA | tebéza | *tebéso* |

(b) As a rule the retention of the atonic penultimate in the modern tongue causes one to suspect a learned origin as the Folk words either shifted the accent like the examples above or else lost the final syllable as *orre*, Old Provençal, orreza, Lat. HORRIDA.

### Counterpenultimates

57. We give this name to the second of three syllables preceding the stress. The number of these words is small and the development not always regular. Their treatment in French has been discussed by Dr. E. C. Armstrong in Modern Language Notes 1895, pp. 175–180. His theory seems applicable also to Provençal. The same conclusions are reached by Schultz-Gora (§ 56). The secondary stress falls on the first of the three syllables preceding the primary stress save in composita, where it falls on the second syllable. In either case the counterfinal falls and the counterpenultimate remains.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| AMICITATEM | amistat | *amista* |
| CUMINITIARE | comenzar | *coumença* |
| MINISTERARIUM | menestrier | *menestrié* |

(a) Some words where the counterpenultimate falls seem to have been late Latin or early Romance formations. Thus *aspreta*, Old Provençal aspretat is formed on ASPRUM or at least influenced by it. This can be seen even more clearly in *dounzello*, Old Pro-

vençal donzella which must have come from DOMNA and not from DOMINA.

### Initial

58. Initial vowels bear a secondary stress and hence usually survive. They have been treated under stressed vowels in the pretonic position.

### Consonants

59. In treating the development of the vowels, the accent was found to be of great importance. In dealing with the consonants the determining factor is not the accent but the position in the word. There are two positions, strong and weak. In the strong position consonants usually remain, in the weak position they change and may even disappear. A consonant is in the strong position when it is initial in a word, BONUM, or initial in a syllable after a consonant, CARBONEM. A consonant is in the weak position when it is intervocalic, RIPAM, or final in a syllable before another syllable that begins with a consonant, CAPRAM. A final consonant may be free, *i.e.* preceded by a vowel, CAPUM, or supported, *i.e.* preceded by a consonant, COLPUM.

60. Thus in dealing with each consonant we shall treat it as far as possible under the following heads: (1) initial, *i.e.* initial in a word or initial in a syllable after a consonant, (2) Intervocalic, (3) Followed by a consonant, (4) Interconsonantal, (5) Final.

61. We will treat the Folk Latin consonants in the following order: (1) The nasals M, N, and N mouillé. (2) The laterals L and L mouillé. (3) The trill R. (4) The stops P, B, T, D, C, G. (5) The fricatives F, V, W, S, J, H.

### Nasals

62. There are certain changes to be noted that took place in the Folk Latin period.

(1) M final in an atonic syllable disappeared very early. Thus all the Romance languages derive from forms without M such as SEPTE, DOLORE, MUTO, ROSA.

(2) N final was treated like M in the same position. Thus we have EXAME, LEVAME, NOME, instead of EXAMEN, LEVAMEN, NOMEN, as etyma of the Romance words.

(3) In the group NS, the N disappeared very early, so the Folk Latin forms are ISULA, MESE, PESARE, SPOSA, instead of the Book Latin INSULAM, MENSEM, PENSARE, SPONSAM.

M

63. M initial remains.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ARMA | arma | *armo* |
| FIRMARE | fermar | *ferma* |
| MARE | mar | *mar* |
| MINUS | mens | *mens* |
| MUTARE | mudar | *muda* |
| VERMICULUM | vermelh | *vermei* |

(1) M has become *n* in a few isolated cases.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| MAPPA | napa | *napo* |
| MATTA | natta | *nato* |

Remark. While *n* in *napo* can be explained by dissimilation of labials, the *n* of *nato* must be explained by assimilation *i.e.* the effect of the dental *t* has caused the *m* to become *n*.

64. M intervocalic remains in all cases.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| AMARUM | amar | *amar* |
| AMAT | ama | *amo* |
| CAMINUM | camin | *camin* |
| CIMA | cima | *cimo* |

65. M followed by a consonant remains.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CAMBIARE | cambiar | *cambia* |
| CAMPUM | camp | *camp* |
| LAMPADA | lampeza | *lampeso* |
| RUMPERE | rompre | *roumpre* |

(a) Before dentals M becomes *n*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| AMITA | tanta | *tanto* |
| COMPUTARE | comtar | *counta* |
| DOMITARE | domtar | *dounta* |
| PUMICEM | pomesa | *pounço* |

66. Certain groups of consonants must be treated separately.

(1) MJ. See § 150, 4.

(2) ML. In this group *b* usually developes between *m* and *l* (§ 161).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CUMULARE | comblar | *coumbla* |
| HUMILEM | umble | *umble* |
| INSIMUL | ensemble | *ensèmble* |
| TREMULARE | tremblar | *trambla* |

(a) Some dialects have preserved the vowel between the *m* and the *l* in many of these cases, and this has given rise to doublets such as *trambla* and *tremoula*, *coumbla* and *coumoula*.

(3) MM. This group is regularly reduced to *m*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| FLAMMA | flama | *flamo* |
| GEMMA | gema | *gemo* |
| SUMMA | soma | *soumo* |

(4) MN. This group remained in Old Provençal although doublets in m show that assimilation had begun. In Rhodanien it has become *m*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| FEMINA | femna | *femo* |
| HOMINEM | omne (ome) | *ome* |
| NOMINAR | nomnar | *nouma* |
| SOMNUM | som | *som* |

(a) The same assimilation takes place when this group is preceded by R.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CARMINARE | charmar | *charma* |
| CARMINUM | charme | *charme* |
| TERMINUM | terme | *terme* |

(b) In certain learned words of early date the assimilation has been to the *n*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| AUTUMNUM | automne | *autoun* |
| COLUMNA | colomna | *coulouno* |
| DAMNAR | damnar | *dana* |
| DOMINA | domna | *dono* |

(5) MR. In this group *b* is usually developed between *m* and *r* (§ 162).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CAMERA | cambra | *chambro* |
| MEMORARE | membrar | *membra* |
| NUMERUM | nombre | *noumbre* |

(a) In the group RMR, of MARMOR, *b* has replaced *m* giving in Old Provençal marbre and marmre. Rhodanien has preserved the second form but has dropped the second r, giving *marme*.

67. M final. There are two cases. (1) Where M was final in the Latin period. (2) Where M became final in the Romance period.

(1) Original final M disappeared early in the Folk Latin period (62, 1). Book Latin MURUM, DOLOREM, ROSAM, AMEM, became Folk Latin MURU, DOLORE, ROSA, AME.

(a) In monosyllables it survived as *n*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| MEUM | mon | *moun* |
| TUUM | ton | *toun* |
| SUUM | son | *soun* |
| REM | ren | *rèn* |

(2) M which became final in the Romance period remains.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| FAMEM | fam | *fam* |
| FIRMUM | ferm | *ferm* |
| LUMEN | lum | *lum* |
| NOMEN | nom | *noum* |

N

68. N initial remains.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ALNUM | alne | *auno* |
| ORNARE | orna | *ourna* |
| NASUM | nas | *nas* |
| NOMEN | nom | *noum* |

(a) In *ase*, Old Provençal asne, Lat. ASINUM, N has disappeared.
(b) For MN and RMN see § 66, 4, 4a.
(c) In a number of proparoxytones N has been replaced by *r*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| COPHINUM | cofre | *cofre* |
| DIACONUM | diagre | *diacre* |
| ORDINEM | ordre | *ordre* |
| TYMPANUM | timbre | *timbre* |

(d) Under the same circumstances N has disappeared in *pampo*, Old Provençal pampa, Lat. PAMPINUM.
(e) After g [dʒ], N has disappeared in the following cases.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| IMAGINEM | image | *image* |
| MARGINEM | marge | *marge* |
| PAGINEM | page | *page* |
| VIRGINEM | verge | *vierge* |

(f) In *degun*, Lat. NECUNUS, *d* is the result of dissimilation (Schultz-Gora, § 93).

69. N intervocalic remains.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| DONARE | donar | *douna* |
| LANA | lana | *lano* |
| LUNA | luna | *luno* |

70. N followed by a consonant remains.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| BONITATEM | bontat | *bounta* |
| INFANTEM | enfant | *enfant* |
| PLANTA | planta | *planto* |
| PONERE | ponre | *poundre* |
| SENTIRE | sentir | *senti* |
| VENDERE | vendre | *vèndre* |
| VINDICARE | venjar | *venja* |
| VENTUM | vent | *vènt* |

71. The following groups must be treated separately.

(1) NJ. See § 74.

(2) NM. The N of this group has become *r* in the following words.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ANIMA | arma | *armo* |
| MINIMARE | mermar | *merma* |

(a) In some dialects of Old Provençal N in this group was assimilated to the M, giving doublets (Schultz-Gora § 94b). Thus we have *amo* as well as *armo*.

(3) NN. This group is regularly reduced to *n*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CRUNNIRE | gronir | *grouni* |
| PENNA | pena | *peno* |

(a) Words where double *n* appears such as *annalo, annau, anniversàri*, are learned or half learned.

(4) NR. This group developes *d* between *n* and *r* giving the group *ndr* (§ 164).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CINEREM | cendre | *cèndre* |
| DIES VENERIS | divenres | *divèndre* |
| INGENERARE | engenrar | *engendra* |
| PONERE | ponre | *poundre* |
| TENERUM | tendre | *tèndre* |

(a) This group remained unaltered in many dialects but Rhodanien has always retained the forms with *d*. The *d* is commoner too in the modern dialectal forms than it was in Old Provençal.

(5) NS. This group as we have already said (§ 62, 3) was reduced early to s. Words containing *ns* such as *anso, defènso, responso, semounso*, are learned.

(a) Even in learned words there was a strong tendency in some dialects to assimilate, giving *ss* (Grandgent, § 76).

72. N interconsonantal disappears.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CARNES | cars | *car* |
| DIURNOS | jors | *jour* |
| FURNOS | fors | *four* |
| HIBERNOS | ivers | *ivèr* |
| PERNULA | perla | *perlo* |

Remark. In the case of words like CARNES, DIURNOS, etc. Old Provençal had a nominative case cars, jors and an accusative carn, jorn. A new accus. form without n followed the analogy of the nom. (for similar phenomenon in French see Nyrop I § 331).

73. N final. In unstressed syllables, as we have already stated (§ 62, 2), N final disappeared. N which became final in the Romance period survived in Rhodanien.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| DONUM | don | *doun* |
| PANEM | pan | *pan* |
| SINUM | sen | *sen* |
| VINUM | vin | *vin* |

Remark. In this position Rhodanien *n* has the velar pronunciation [ŋ].

(a) An N that was intervocalic in Latin and has become final in Romance, tended to disappear in nearly all the Old Provençal territory (Schultz-Gora, § 93b). Thus we have in Old Provençal can, man, ben, and ca, ma, be. Rhodanien has always preserved these n's.

### N Mouillé [ɲ]

74. The palatal nasal N mouillé [ɲ] was unknown to Book Latin. It developed in Folk Latin from the combinations NJ, NG, and GN. Thus the Book Latin forms VINEA, LINEA, CINGERE, PUGNUM, became in Folk Latin [viɲa], [liɲa], [kiɲere], [puɲo]. This N mouillé survived in all cases in Old Provençal but in Rhodanien there are two cases to consider: (1) Intervocalic, (2) Final.

(1) When intervocalic, N mouillé remained. In Old Provençal it was represented by nh but in Rhodanien by *gn* as in French.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| AGNELLUM | anhel | *agnèu* |
| CINGERE | cenher | *cegne* |
| DIGNARE | denhar | *degna* |
| INSIGNIA | ensenha | *ensigne* |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| LINEA | linha | *ligno* |
| MONTANEA | montanha | *mountagno* |
| SENIOREM | senhor | *segnour* |
| VERECUNDIA | vergonha | *vergougno* |
| VINEA | vinha | *vigno* |

(2) When final, N mouillé remains in Old Provençal but in Rhodanien loses its palatal quality and becomes the velar nasal [ŋ] represented by *n* (§ 73, Rem.).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| BALNEUM | banh | *ban* |
| COTONEUM | codonh | *coudoun* |
| JUNIUM | junh | *jun* |
| PUGNUM | ponh | *poung* |

(a) As a rule N mouillé does not develop a yod preceding it as in French (Nyrop I, § 230) or as the other palatals (§ 39 et seq.). Thus *couin*, Old Provençal conh, Lat. CUNEUM shows the treatment of o close followed by yod (§ 44) and is probably due to the influence of French or some Franco-Provençal dialect where N mouillé lost its palatal quality after developing a yod as in French *coin*.

(b) The *g* of *poung*, Old Provençal ponh, Lat. PUGNUM is due to French influence or is a reconstruction from the Latin.

(c) A few words of late date show French influence. The yod has not combined with the *n* but has become [dz] (Nyrop, I, § 334).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| EXTRANEUM | estranh(e) | *estrange* |
| GRANEA | granja | *granjo* |
| LINEUM | linge | *linge* |

(d) Rhodanien is characterized by the great number of learned words ending in unstressed *i* coming from Latin words ending in a consonant followed by yod (cf. § 153 et seq). *Testimòni*, Old Provençal testimoni, Latin TESTIMONIUM, is of this type. Rhodanien *temouin* on the same root is French. (§ 74, 2a).

### Laterals

75. Book Latin had two laterals, the ordinary dental as in LANA, ALA, CLARUS, and a lateral before a consonant which was probably velar, as in ALBA, TALPA, PALMA, etc. The first of these survived but the second was lost early by vocalizing to *u* (Nyrop

I § 337). Besides this dental lateral, a palatal lateral developed under certain conditions from the groups LJ, CL, GL, JL (Nyrop I, § 337). This is known as L mouillé [λ] which in northern Gaul lost its first element and became yod but which survived in Old Provençal, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese. In Rhodanien it is reduced to yod as in French.

L

76. L initial remains.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| LEGEM | lei | *lèi* |
| LANA | lana | *lano* |
| LIBERARE | liurar | *liéura* |

77. L intervocalic remains.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ALA | ala | *alo* |
| DOLOREM | dolor | *doulour* |
| TELAM | tela | *telo* |
| VOCALEM | vocal | *voucalo* |

78. L followed by a consonant. In Old Provençal L remains in this position except before the linguals T, D, N, S, where it may vocalize to *u* (Schultz-Gora, § 96b). Even in these cases if we judge by the spelling there seems to have been a great deal of irregularity, some dialects retaining the L and some vocalizing it. In Rhodanien the treatment is uniform and unaffected by the following consonant. It always vocalizes.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ALBA | alba | *aubo* |
| ALTERUM | autre | *autre* |
| CABALLUM | caval | *cavau(chivau)* |
| CULPA | colpa | *coupo* |
| FALCONEM | falcon | *faucoun* |
| FILTRUM | feltre | *fèutre* |
| MOLERE | molre | *mourre* |
| POLLICEM | polse | *pouce* |
| PULVEREM | polvera | *pouvero* |
| SOLIDARE | soldar | *souda* |
| TALPA | talpa | *taupo* |

79. The following groups must be taken up separately.

(1) LJ. See § 81.

(2) LR. The tendency of this group is to develop *d* between L and R. The L is then vocalized to u (§ 163).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ABSOLVERE | absoldre | *absoudre* |
| FULGUR | foldre | *foudre* |
| VALERAJO | valrai | *vaudrai* |
| VOLERAJO | volrai | *voudrai* |

(a) In some cases assimilation has taken place afterwards, producing forms like *vaurrai, vourrai.* This is the explanation of Rhodanien *mourre,* Lat. MOLERE.

(3) CL, GL, JL. These groups give L mouillé (§ 81).

(4) ML. (§ 66, 2; § 161).

(5) TL. This group became CL in the Folk Latin period (Nyrop I, § 341, 3), and as such gives L mouillé (§ 81). In *roula,* Old Provençal rotlar, Lat. ROTULARE, T has disappeared after passing through the fricative stage. Old Provençal rotlar must have become [roðlar] before reaching the stage *roula* (Nyrop I, § 341, 3).

(a) In a few words of learned or foreign origin the L of the combination TL becomes *r* or disappears. The popular tendency seems to be for the L to disappear. In some of these cases there are doublets and one must suspect French influence in the case of those retaining *r.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CARTULA | cartra(carta) | *carto* |
| CAPITULUM | capitre | *capito(capite)* |

80. L final. In Old Provençal L final survived although in certain dialects (Schultz-Gora, § 95b) this *l* tended to vocalize after certain vowels. This tendency has become general in Rhodanien (§ 80a).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| APRILEM | abril | *abriéu* |
| CABALLUM | caval | *cavau(chivau)* |
| CAELUM | cel | *cèu* |
| FILUM | fil | *fiéu* |
| HOSPITALEM | ostal | *oustau* |
| MEL | mel | *mèu* |
| MOLLEM | mol | *mou* |
| QUALEM | cal | *quau* |
| SAL | sal | *sau* |
| SOLUM | sol | *sòu* |
| TALEM | tal | *tau* |
| VALLEM | val | *vau* |

(a) This vocalization does not take place after *ou* or *u*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| SOLUM | sol | *soul* |
| PULLUM | pol | *poul* |
| NULLUM | nul | *nul* |

(b) As *l* regularly vocalizes after *i*, *vil* must be either foreign or learned.

### L mouillé [λ]

81. This sound was unknown to Book Latin but must have developed in Folk Latin as it is found in all the Romance languages with the exception of Sardinian and Roumanian.

There is a tendency in the modern Romance languages to reduce the sound to yod as in French *travail* and Spanish-American pronunciation of *caballo* [kabajo]. The Latin sources of [λ] are LJ, CL, GL, JL. The results may be classified according to the position of [λ] *i.e.* intervocalic and final.

82. L mouillé intervocalic is reduced to yod as in French (Nyrop I, § 351) and is represented in Rhodanien by *i*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| BAJULARE | balhar | *baia* |
| COAGULARE | calhar | *caia* |
| FOLIAM | folha | *fueio* |
| MACULA | malha | *maio* |
| MELIOREM | melhor | *meiour* |
| PALEA | palha | *paio* |

(a) After *i* Rhodanien uses *h* to represent this same sound (§ 41b, Rem).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| APICLA | abelha(abilha) | *abiho* |
| AURICLA | aurelha(aurilha) | *auriho* |
| MANICLA | manilha | *maniho* |

Remark. The ending *-iho* is very common in Rhodanien. The following words are found in Mistral: *abiho, aubriho, aucelih*o, *auriho, broundiho, clapiho, erboriho, escaviho, fountaniho, groubiho, graniho, grasiho, graviho, mangiho, maniho, mountiho, pacaniho, pastriho, pauriho, ramiho, raubiho, roucassiho, soumiho, tourriho.*

83. L mouillé final is likewise reduced to yod and represented in Rhodanien by *i*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ALIUM | alh | *ai* |
| FENUCULUM | fenolh | *fenoui* |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| GENUCULUM | genolh | *geinoui* |
| MALLEUM | malh | *mai* |
| OCULUM | olh | *uei* |
| URGOLI | orgolh | *ourguei* |
| TREPALIUM | trebalh | *travai* |
| VECLUM | velh | *vièi* |

(a) In the case of the Old Provençal ending -elh, represented in Rhodanien by -èu (§ 41a, Rem.) there was probably a confusion with the suffix -el, Lat. -ĔLLUS, as the treatment is that of -el not of -elh (§ 80).

84. The Latin had only one trilled consonant, the linguo-dental R. This R is found in all the Romance languages. (Nyrop I § 355). The uvular *r*, found in parts of the Gallic territory, was unknown to the Old French and Old Provençal and is a later development. (Nyrop I, § 356). It is found especially in the large cities and is not as common in the Provençal territory as it is in the north. However it exists at Avignon and St. Remy (Mistral, *Tresor* p. 697). We will not attempt to distinguish between these *r*'s but will treat them alike.

R

85. R initial remains.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| REGEM | rei | *rèi* |
| REGINA | reina | *rèino* |
| ROSAM | rosa | *roso* |

86. R intervocalic remains.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CORONA | corona | *courouno* |
| ERAT | era | *èro* |
| PARABOLA | paraula | *paraulo* |
| PARARE | parar | *para* |
| PARICULUM | parelh | *parèu* |

(a) There are a few forms where R in this position has been replaced by L. Some of these cases, as may be seen by the examples, can be explained by dissimilation but other cases cannot be accounted for in that way.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| FRIGOROSUM | frejures | *frejoulous* |
| PARAVEREDUM | palafren | *palafren* |
| PEREGRINUM | pelegrin | *pelegrin* |

Remark. This change of *r* to *l* is very frequent in the patois in the different parts of France. (Nyrop I, § 359).

87. Consonant followed by R. The R remains in Rhodanien.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CAPRAM | cabra | *cabro* |
| CRUCEM | crotz | *crous* |
| FRIGIDUM | freg | *fre* |
| GRANUM | gran | *gran* |
| PRATUM | prat | *prat* |

(a) There are a few cases where R has been replaced by *l*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| FRAGRARE | flairar | *fleira* |
| TEMPORA | temple | *temple(tempe)* |

Remark. The *l* of *fleira* can be explained by dissimilation but not the *l* of temple.

88. R followed by a consonant remains in Rhodanien.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| BARBA | barba | *barbo* |
| FIRMARE | fermar | *ferma* |
| PORCUM | porc | *porc* |
| SERVIRE | servir | *servi* |

(a) By metathesis this *r* is sometimes advanced.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| FORMATICUM | formatge | *froumage* |
| PAUPERTATEM | paubretat | *paureta* |

(b) In Lat. ARBOREM the first R has become *l* through dissimilation. The *l* has vocalized before a consonant (§ 78) giving Rhodanien *aubre*.

89. Certain consonant groups must be treated separately.

(1) LR. (§ 79, 2; § 163.)

(2) MR. (§ 66, 5; § 162.)

(3) NR. (§ 71, 4; § 164).

(4) SR. In this group *t* is developed between *s* and *r* in the following words.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ANTECESSOR | ancestre | *ancèstre* |
| ESSERE | estre | *èstre* |

(5) RJ. (§ 149, 3).

90. R final. In the literary language, R final remains (§ 90a).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CARUM | car | *car* |
| COR | cor | *cor* |
| FERUM | fer | *fèr* |
| FLOREM | flor | *flour* |

(a) The final *r* of the infinitives has disappeared in all parts of the Provençal territory except in the Dauphiné and the Alps. (Mistral, *Tresor* II, p. 679). In the ending *-adou*, Old Provençal -ador, Lat. -ATOREM, the R has disappeared both in pronunciation and spelling.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| AMARE | amar | *ama* |
| PISCATOREM | pescador | *pescadou* |
| PECCATOREM | pecador | *pecadou* |
| SERVIRE | servir | *servi* |
| VOLERE | volor | *voulé* |

Remark. For a complete treatment of *r* in the various parts of the Provençal territory see Mistral, *Tresor* p. 679.

91. RR. This is the one case in which the doubled consonants of the Latin are preserved in Rhodanien. When intervocalic the retention is general but when final reduction sometimes takes place.

(1) Intervocalic.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CURRERE | corre | *courre* |
| CORRUPTIARE | corrosar | *courroussa* |
| ERROREM | error | *errour* |
| TERRAM | terra | *terro* |

(2) Final. Here the group RR seems to have required a supporting vowel when reduction did not take place. Sometimes there are doublets.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CARRUM | carre | *carre* |
| FERRUM | ferre(fer) | *fèrri(fèr)* |

## Stops

92. The stops are: labials P, B; dentals T, D; palatals C, G. Their development in the different positions is fairly uniform. In the strong position they remain practically unchanged. Before a consonant they disappear either by assimilation or by vocalization. Intervocalic they tend to weaken and in some cases change their class. The voiceless stops in this position tend to become voiced and the voiced stops to become fricatives.

P

93. P initial remains unchanged.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ASPERUM | aspre | *aspre* |
| PANEM | pan | *pan* |
| PURUM | pur | *pur* |
| PLENUM | plen | *plen* |
| TALPA | talpa | *taupo* |
| VESPA | vespa | *guespo* |

(a) In a few isolated cases P initial in a syllable after a consonant disappears.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| EPISCOPUM | evesque | *evesque* |
| PRINCIPEM | prince | *prince* |

94. P followed by a consonant.

(1) P followed by L or R becomes *b*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| APRILEM | abril | *abriéu* |
| CAPRA | cabra | *cabro* |
| DUPLUM | doble | *double* |
| LEPOREM | lebre | *lebre* |

(a) Words like *caprice*, *propre*, *cipres* are learned or French.

(2) PJ. See § 150, 1.

(3) Before other consonants P disappears.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ACCAPTAR | acaptar | *acata* |
| RUPTA | rota | *routo* |
| SAP(I)DUM | sade | *sade* |

(a) *Caissa*, Old Provençal caisa, Lat. CAPSA. The explanation usually given of this word (Grandgent § 79; Schultz-Gora § 68b) is that PS became KS under Celtic influence. KS would give " is " regularly in Old Provençal and *iss* in Rhodanien. A better explanation is suggested by Brunel, (Romania Vol. 46, No. 181, p. 115). He suggests the etymon CAPSEA instead of CAPSA. Assimilation would give CASSEA which would regularly give caissa (Grandgent p. 67).

(b) *Escricho*, Old Provençal escricha, Lat. SCRIPTA is due to analogy with *dicho*, Old Provençal dicha, Lat. DICTAM. In the masculine form of the past part. *escri*, Old Provençal escrich, Lat. SCRIPTUM, the *ch* being final has disappeared.

95. P interconsonantal disappears.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| COMPUTARE | comtar | *counta* |
| CORPUS | cors | *cors* |
| HOSPITEM | oste | *oste* |
| TEMPUS | tems(temps) | *tèms* |

(a) If the consonant following be L or R, the P remains.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| COMPREHENSIBILEM | comprensible | *coumprensible* |
| COMPLACERE | complaire | *complaire* |

96. P intervocalic becomes *b*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CUPA | cuba | *cubo* |
| NIPOTEM | nebot | *nebout* |
| RIPA | riba | *ribo* |
| SAPONEM | sabon | *saboun* |

(a) Words like *apoustòli, capo, capito, epistro, estupit, vapour* are either learned or come from a form with a double *p* (§ 98).

97. P final remains in spelling, but like all finals tends to disappear from the pronunciation. In Rhodanien (Mistral, *Tresor* II, p. 454) it is silent and in some of the dialects disappears from spelling also.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CAMPUM | camp | *camp* |
| CAPUM | cap | *cap(ca)* |
| COLPUM | colp(cop) | *cop(co)* |

98. PP. This group is reduced to *p*. This reduction must have taken place after the voicing of the intervocalic voiceless stops otherwise CAPPA would have given *cabo* and not *capo*. (§ 96).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CAPPA | capa | *capo* |
| DRAPPUM | drap | *drap* |
| MAPPA | napa | *napo* |
| SAPPINUM | sapin | *sapin* |

B

99. B initial remains.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ALBA | alba | *aubo* |
| BENE | ben | *ben* |
| BONUM | bon | *bon* |
| BRACHIUM | bratz | *bras* |
| CARBONEM | carbon | *carboun* |

(a) *Cervèu*, Old Provençal cervel, Lat. CEREBELLUM. B in this word has become *v* as in the intervocalic position. (§ 102). The change probably took place before the fall of the counterfinal while B was still intervocalic. A similar change has occurred in French *cerveau*. (Nyrop I, § 375).

100. B followed by a consonant. There are numerous groups.

(1) B followed by L or R. In most cases B remains although there are some cases where it vocalizes to *u*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| COLUBRA | colobra | *coulobro* |
| FEBREM | febre | *fèbre* |
| FLEBILEM | feble | *feble* |
| SABULUM | sable | *sable* |
| STABULUM | estable | *estable* |

(a) The following words show vocalization.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| LIBERARE | liurar | *liéura* |
| LIBRA | liura | *lièura* |
| PARABOLA | paraula | *paraulo* |

(2) BJ. See § 150, 2.

(3) B followed by other consonants usually disappears either by assimilation or vocalization.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CUBITUM | cobde | *couide* |
| DEBITUM | depte(deute) | *dèute* |
| DUBITARE | dobtar(dotar) | *douta* |
| GABATA | gauta | *gauto* |
| SUBTUS | sotz | *sout* |
| SUBTILEM | sobtil(sotil) | *soutiéu* |

101. B interconsonantal disappears.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| GALBINUM | jaune | *jaune* |
| PRESBYTER | prestre | *prèire* |

(a) If followed by R, it remains.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ARBOREM | arbre(albre) | *aubre* |
| MEMBRUM | membre | *mèmbre* |
| UMBRA | ombra | *oumbro* |

102. B intervocalic became *v*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ABANTE | avan | *avans* |
| CABALLUM | caval | *cavau* |
| FABA | fava | *favo* |
| HIBERNUM | ivern | *ivèr* |
| PROBARE | provar | *prouva* |
| TABONEM | tavan | *tavan* |

103. B final. There are two cases.

(1) Free it regularly vocalizes.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| BIBIT | beu | *bèu* |
| NUBEM | niu | *nièu* |
| SEBUM | sou | *sèu* |

(2) Supported it becomes silent but is retained as *b* in the spelling. Old Provençal fluctuated between *b* and *p* in this position.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CORBUM | corb(corp) | *corb* |
| ORBUM | orp(orb) | *orb* |
| PLUMBUM | plom(plomb) | *ploumb* |

104. BB. This group is reduced to *b*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ABBATEM | abat | *abat* |

(a) In *dissate*, Old Provençal disapte, Lat. DIES SABBATI, the unstressed a having fallen, the group BB was reduced to *b* and then lost by assimilation.

T

105. T initial remains.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CANTARE | cantar | *canta* |
| FESTA | festa | *fèsto* |
| TALEM | tal | *tau* |
| TRANS | tras | *tras* |
| TRIGINTA | trenta | *trento* |

106. T followed by a consonant. The following groups occur and are treated separately.

(1) TR. In this group T has been replaced by *i*. In Old French the T disappeared after passing through the fricative stage [ð] (Nyrop 1, 383). In Provençal the development must have been something similar. The various stages may be represented by the series [t] > [d] > [ð] > [z] > [i]. (Schultz-Gora § 75b).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| FRATREM | fraire | *fraire* |
| LATRO | laire | *laire* |
| MATREM | maire | *maire* |
| PATREM | paire | *paire* |
| PETRAM | peira | *pèiro* |

(a) Lat. NUTRIRE, BUTYRUM give in Old Provençal noirir, buire which are regular. The Rhodanien *nourri*, *burre* are not

easily explained. The double *r* may be only a graphic difference such as exists in French between *larron, verre* and *père, mère* (Nyrop I § 365 Rem., § 383). The case is complicated by the absence of *i* in the Rhodanien words. French influence probably accounts for *nourri*. Old Provençal noirir should have given *nouiri* which is found in Languedocien and Limousin. The form *burre* is probably influenced by the French. This latter word is also found with a single *r* and in the Marseille dialect it becomes *buerri*.

(2) TC. This group became tg [dʒ] in Old Provençal (Schultz-Gora § 75b). In Rhodanien the *t* was lost and the *g* preserved with the pronunciation [dz] (Mistral, *Tresor* II, p. 1).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| SILVATICUM | salvatge | *sauvage* |
| VIATICUM | viatge(viatje) | *viage* |

(3) TJ. See § 151, 2.

(4) TL. See § 79, 5.

107. T intervocalic becomes *d*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| GRETA | greda | *gredo* |
| MATURUM | madur | *madur* |
| ROTA | roda | *rodo* |
| ROTUNDUM | redon | *redoun* |
| VITAM | vida | *vido* |
| VOTARE | vodar | *vouda* |

(a) Rhodanien words with intervocalic *t* such as *moutiéu, dato, imita, disputa*, are either borrowed or learned.

108. T final remains but like all finals tends to disappear from the pronunciation although the dialects differ greatly (Mistral, *Tresor* II, p. 940). In Rhodanien *t* final is usually silent except when liaison occurs.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ALTUM | alt | *aut* |
| FORTEM | fort | *fort* |
| GRATUM | grat | *grat* |
| HOSTEM | ost | *ost* |
| NIPOTEM | nebot | *nebout* |
| PARTEM | part | *part* |
| SCUTUM | escut | *escut* |
| SEPTEM | set | *sèt* |
| SITEM | set | *set* |
| VOTUM | vot | *vot* |

(a) In the third plural of verbs T has disappeared after N.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| AMANT | aman | *amon* |
| AMABANT | amavan | *amavon* |
| VENDUNT | vendon | *vendon* |

(b) In certain parts of the Provençal territory final T survives in the past participle. Thus Rhodanien *ana, fini, vengu,* are *anat, finit, vengut,* in Gascon, Bearnais, and Auvergnat (Mistral, *Tresor* II, p. 940).

(c) Final T of the third singular of the past definite survives in Languedoc and Rouergue but falls in Rhodanien. Thus Rhodanien *amè, legiguè* become *amèt, legiguèt* in Languedoc and Rouergue (Mistral, *Tresor* II, p. 940).

109. TT. This group is reduced to *t.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CATTUM | cat | *cat* |
| GUTTAM | gota | *gouto* |
| MUTTUM | mot | *mot* |

(a) This reduction must have taken place after the voicing of intervocalic T (§ 107) otherwise the result would have been D.

D

110. D initial remains.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CHORDA | corda | *cordo* |
| DENTEM | den(t) | *dènt* |
| DOLOREM | dolor | *doulour* |
| DURUM | dur | *dur* |
| MANDARE | mandar | *manda* |

(a) In NITIDA the D has become *t* by progressive assimilation giving *nete.*

(b) In some cases D initial in a syllable after a consonant has disappeared entirely.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| PALLIDUM | pale | *pale* |
| QUOMODO | coma | *coume* |
| RANCIDA | rança | *rançó* |

111. R followed by a consonant. There are various groups which must be treated separately.

(1) DR. The *d* is replaced by *i* probably through the intervening stage of the voiced fricative. (§ 106, 1.)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CREDERE | creire | *crèire* |
| QUADRUM | caire | *caire* |
| RADERE | raire | *raire* |

(a) In case *i* precedes, the *i* coming from the D coalesces with it.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| AUCCIDERE | aucire | *aucire* |
| DESIDERARE | dezirar | *desira* |
| RIDERE | rire | *rire* |

(b) If AU precedes D, the I is suppressed.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CLAUDERE | claure | *claure* |

(c) Words like *catedral* retaining the combination dr are learned or foreign.

(2) DC. Becomes tg [tʒ] in Old Provençal. In Rhodanien the *t* has fallen, *g* has survived with the sound [dz] (§ 121, 3)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| JUDICARE | jutge | *juge* |
| MEDICUM | metge | *mege* |

(a) The numerals UNDECIM, DUODECIM, TREDECIM in Old Provençal gave onze, dotze, tretze but in Rhodanien these are all written with *g*, *vounge*, *douge*, *trege*, although the pronunciation of this *g* varies considerably in different localities, being pronounced [ts], [tʃ], [dz] according to the dialects. (Mistral, *Tresor* II p. 1).

(3) DJ. See § 151, 3.

(4) D followed by other consonants usually disappears by assimilation and reduction.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ADVENIRE | avenir | *avenir* |
| ADVOCATUM | avocat | *avoucat* |
| MODULUM | modle | *mole* |

112. D interconsonantal disappears.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| MANDUCARE | maniar(manjar) | *manja* |
| VENDICARE | venjar | *venja* |

(a) If the last consonant is R the D is retained.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| MORDERE | mordre | *mordre* |
| PERDERE | perdre | *perdre* |

113. D intervocalic becomes a voiced fricative represented in Old Provençal by z and in Rhodanien by *s*. The stages were probably [d] > [ð] > [z].

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ADORAR | azorar | *asoura* |
| AUDIRE | auzir | *ausi* |
| CRUDELEM | cruzel | *crusel*(Lang) |
| FIDELEM | fizel | *fisèu* |
| LAUDARE | lauzar | *lausa* |
| SUDARE | suzar | *susa* |

(a) There was considerable variety in the treatment of the intervocalic D. In the north and east it opened into [ð] which fell about the 11th century or earlier (Grandgent § 65). In part of the west it remained while the change to z was common to the rest of the Provençal territory. This accounts for the variety of forms used in the modern literary language such as *cruel, crusel, crudel,* and also for single forms where the *d* has vanished such as *co* (*couo*), Old Provençal caua (coa) Lat. CAUDAM.

114. D final. Like *t* the letter *d* is not pronounced when final. It usually disappears also from the spelling when free.

(1) Free.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CREDIT | cre | *cre* |
| FIDEM | fe | *fe* |
| MERCEDEM | merce | *merce* |

(a) In some cases the *d* is restored in the spelling through learned or French influence as in *pèd* Old Provençal pe.

(b) The *s* of *nus, crus* is due to the feminine forms, *nuso, cruso,* where the *s* represents an intervocalic *d.*

(2) Supported, D final becomes t in Old Provençal but in Rhodanien *d* has been restored frequently in adjectives, by analogy with the feminine forms.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CALIDUM | caut | *caud* |
| SURDUM | sort | *sourd* |
| TARDUM | tart | *tard* |

(a) After N, the D disappeared entirely in Old Provençal but here also the D has been restored in adjectives where it is found in the feminine or in verbs where it belongs to the root. Thus Rhodanien *grand, vend* for Old Provençal gran, ven.

(b) Restoration of the D has not taken place in *redoun, redouno.* The feminine seems to have been made on the masculine. This however seems to be a Limousin word used in the literary language and Mistral also uses *redound, redoundo.*

115. C initial. There are three cases.

(1) C followed by a consonant remains.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CLAVEM | clau | *clau* |
| CLARUM | clar | *clar* |
| CREDERE | creire | *crèire* |

(a) CR has become *gr* in *gras* from CRASSUM probably affected by *gros*. CRETAM also has given *gredo*.

(2) C followed by A, O, U, remains.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ARCA | arca | *arco* |
| BUCCA | boca | *bouco* |
| CABALLUM | caval | *cavau(chivau)* |
| CAMPUM | camp | *camp* |
| CANTARE | cantar | *canta* |
| CARUM | car | *car* |
| CODA | coa | *co* |
| CORNU | corn | *cor* |
| COXA | coissa | *cueisso* |
| EPISCOPUM | evesque | *evesque* |
| FURCA | forca | *fourco* |

(a) The treatment of C, followed by A, varied greatly in the different dialects. In the north and northeast it changed to ch [tʃ] but remained in the rest of the field. This produced many doublets such as *chanta, canta; champ, camp*. Some of these northern forms have been introduced into the modern literary language. Thus we have *cavau* and *chivau* but the latter is by far the commoner. The regular Provençal form should have *c* in these cases and forms with *ch* are French or Franco-provençal.

(3) C followed by E, I, became palatalized giving the series [k] > [kj] > [tj] > [ts] > [s].

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CAELUM | cel | *cèu* |
| CENTUM | cent | *cènt* |
| CERAM | cera | *ciro(ciero)* |
| CERVUM | cer(vi) | *cèrvi* |
| PORCELLUM | porcel | *poucèu* |

116. C followed by a consonant. The various groups will be treated separately.

(1) CS (X, SC). This group gives *is* when final and *iss* when intervocalic.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| AXEM | ais | *ais(aisse)* |
| AXILLA | aisela | *eissello* |
| COXA | coisa | *cueisso* |
| CRESCENTEM | creisen(t) | *creissènt* |
| EXIRE | eisir | *eissi* |
| LAXARE | laisar | *leissa* |
| NASCENTEM | naisen(t) | *neissènt* |
| VASCELLUM | vaisel | *veissèu* |

(a) When the group SC was followed by A there was no metathesis and the group remained (cf. § 141, 4).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| LUSCA | losca | *lusco* |
| MUSCA | mosca | *mousco* |

(b) When the group *ai* was pretonic it gave *ei* in Rhod. as the group *ai* does not occur in the pretonic position. (§ 42a.)

(2) CT. This group gave *ch* [ts].

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| DICTUM | dich | *di(ch)* |
| DIRECTA | drecha | *drecho* |
| LACTUCA | lachuga | *lachugo* |
| LECTUM | lech(liech) | *lie(ch)* |
| NOCTEM | noch(nuech) | *nue(ch)* |
| TRACTARE | trachar | *tracha* |
| TRUCTA | trocha | *troucho* |

(a) In *jita*, Old Provençal gitar, Latin JACTARE, the C has disappeared (§ 22a).

(b) In the north and east CT gave *it* and many of these forms crept into Provençal and are found in both the old and modern literary languages as regular forms.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| PECTORINA | peitrina | *peitrino* |
| VECTURA | veitura | *veituro* |

(3) CR. This group became voiced, giving *gr*, which survived.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ACREM | agre | *aigre(agre)* |
| ALECREM | alegre | *alegre* |
| LACRINA | lagrema | *lagremo* |
| MACREM | magre | *maigre(magre)* |

(a) *aigre*, *maigro*, are irregular forms which are due to French influence. The forms *agre*, *magre*, are what we would expect.

(b) Where the group CR results from the dropping of a palatal vowel the result is *ir*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| DICERE | dire | *dire* |
| FACERE | faire | *faire* |
| TACERE | taire | *taire* |

Remark. This is the treatment of GR (§ 122, 2) and Schultz-Gora (§ 82b) assumes that the C in these words has become voiced *i.e.* FACERE > FAGERE > fagre > *faire*. However, intervocalic C before E, I, does not give *g* but is palatalized and the final result is [z]. One must assume that the contraction of facere took place after the palatalization of the C had begun and that the development must be represented as follows:

FACERE > fac'ere > fac're > *faire*

In other words CR gave GR, whereas C'R gave *ir*, and C followed by a vowel gave *s* [z] (Grandgent § 70).

(4) CL. This group gave L mouillé [λ] (§ 81).

(5) CM, CN. These groups gave either *sm*, *sn*, or *im*, *in*. Sometimes doublets are found. One may assume that the results depend on the time of contraction. The two types would be represented as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| DECIMA | decma | *dèime* |
| DECIMA | dezima | *dèsme* |

Rhodanien has retained the forms in *im*, *in*.

(6) CW. This group was voiced to *gw* and then the labial was lost.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| AEQUALEM | egal | *egau* |
| EQUA | ega | *èga* |

(a) In a few cases an *i* has been developed when the K was voiced. This is probably dialectic.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| AQUA | aiga | *aigo* |
| AQUILA | aigla | *aiglo* |

(b) ANTIQUA should have given *antigo* corresponding to Old Provençal antiga but we find *antico*. This is either due to French influence or else the *c* is attracted from the masculine *antic* where it is regular. The more common modern form is *anti* as the final *c* became silent and was then dropped.

(7) CJ. See § 152, 1.

117. C interconsonantal is found in the group CL preceded by a consonant where it survives.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| AVUNCULUM | avoncle | *ouncle* |
| CARBUNCULUM | carboncle | *carbouncle* |
| CIRCULUM | cercle(celcle) | *ciéucle* |
| MASCULUM | mascle | *mascle* |

118. C intervocalic.

(1) C followed by A, O, U, is voiced to *g*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CARRUCA | carruga | *carrugo* |
| FICA | figa | *figo* |
| LACTUCA | lachuga | *lachugo* |
| LOCA | loga | *logo* |
| PACARE | pagar | *paga* |
| PLACUTUM | plagut | *pleigu* |
| PLICARE | plegar | *plega* |
| SECURUM | segur | *segur* |
| VERRUCA | verruga | *barrugo*(Gasc.). |

(a) After AU the C remains.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| AVICA | auca | *auco* |
| PAUCA | pauca | *pauco* |

(b) BACA and BRACAS should have given forms with *g* but in Rhodanien they are *baio, braio*. These forms must be from some northern dialect where C in this position became *i*. (Schultz-Gora, § 82a.)

(2) C followed by E, I, became z [z] in Old Provençal and *s* [z] in Rhodanien.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| JACERE | jazer | *jasi* |
| PLACERE | plazer | *plase* |
| RACEMUM | razim | *rasin* |
| VICINUM | vezin | *vesin* |

(a) AUCELLUM should have given *ausèu* corresponding to Old Provençal auzel. While *ausèu* is found, the commoner form of the literary language is *aucèu* which has probably come from some dialect where *c* was retained after AU (§ 118a).

119. C final.

(1) Free.

(a) C followed by O, U, disappears although the dialects show a great variety.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| AMICUM | amic | *ami* |
| FOCUM | fuoc | *fiò* |
| LOCUM | luoc | *liò* |

(b) C followed by E, I, gives z in Old Provençal which becomes *s* in Rhodanien.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CRUCEM | crotz | *crous* |
| PACEM | patz | *pas* |
| NUCEM | notz(noze) | *nous(nose)* |
| VOCEM | votz | *voues* |

(2) Supported.

(a) C followed by O, U, remains although the dialects offer many doublets.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ARCUM | arc | *arc* |
| JUNCUM | jonc | *jounc* |
| PORCUM | porc | *porc* |

(b) C followed by E, I, becomes z in Old Provençal and *s* in Rhodanien.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| DULCEM | dolz | *dous* |

Remark. In all these cases *c*, even where it is retained, is silent in the literary language but the dialects differ greatly, some pronouncing the final *c* wherever it is retained, others retaining it and not pronouncing it and others not even retaining it (Mistral, *Tresor* I, p. 397).

CC

120. The Group CC is reduced to *c* which survives, but as the reduction does not take place until after the voicing of intervocalic C (§ 118, 1), the group CC in this position gives *c* and C gives *g* or *s*, depending on the type of the following vowel (§ 118, 1, 2).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| BUCCAM | boca | *bouco* |
| VACCAM | vaca | *vaco* |

G

121. G initial.

(1) G followed by a consonant remains.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| GLACIEM | glatz | *glas* |
| GRANDEM | gran | *grand* |
| GROSSUM | gros | *gros* |

(2) G followed by A, O, U, remains in the regular Provençal territory.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| GALLINA | galina | *galino* |
| GAUDIUM | gaug | *gau* |
| GABATA | gauta | *gauto* |
| GURGA | gorga | *gourgo* |
| GUTTA | gota | *gouto* |
| LARGA | larga | *largo* |
| VERGA | verga | *vergo* |

(a) Before A in the north and east G became [dʒ] represented by *j* (Grandgent § 61). Thus we find many doublets such as *gau, jau* (§ 29b).

(3) G followed by E, I, became in Old Provençal [dʒ] and in Rhodanien [dz]. In both cases, it survived in spelling.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ARGENTUM | argent | *argènt* |
| GENTEM | gen(t) | *gènt* |
| GESTA | gesta | *gesto* |
| GINGIVA | gengiva | *gengivo* |

122. G followed by a consonant.

(1) GD, GT. In Old Provençal there is a good deal of confusion in these groups although there are nearly always forms in id, it. Rhodanien has always preserved a form in which the G has vanished.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| DIGITUM | det | *det* |
| FRIGIDUM | fre(g) (freit) | *fre* |
| RIGIDUM | rede(rege) | *rede* |

(2) GR. This group gives *ir*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| FRAGRARE | flairar | *fleira* |

(a) *Negre* and *pelegrin* are not popular words but must be learned or half-learned. We also find the form *pelerin* both in Old Provençal and in Rhodanien and ner in Old Provençal from Latin NIGRUM survives in the Gascon *nere*.

(3) GM. This group regularly gave *m*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| PIGMENTUM | pimen | *pimen* |

(a) The GM in words of Greek origin had already become *um* in Folk Latin and these words were carried into Provençal (Meyer-Lübke, *Castro.* § 137).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| PHLEGMA | fleuma | *flèumo* |
| SAGMA | sauma | *saumo* |

(4) GN. This group gave N *mouillé* (§ 74).
(5) GL. This group gave L *mouillé* (§ 81).
(6) GJ. See § 152, 2.

123. G interconsonantal remains.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CINGULA | cengla | *cenglo* |
| UNGULA | ongla | *ounglo* |

(a) In the group LGR the G disappeared and the consonant *d* was developed (§ 79, 2).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| FULGUR | foldre | *foudre* |

124. G intervocalic. The development of intervocalic G is very irregular varying according to the surrounding vowels and also according to the locality.

(1) G followed by O, U, remains except in a few words where it was lost in the Folk Latin period.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| FAGOTTUM | fagot | *fagot* |
| FIGURA | figura | *figuro* |
| HUGONEM | Ugo | *Ugues* |

(a) AGUSTUM gives a variety of forms in Old Provençal agost, ahost, aost, avost. The latter form avost is probably a development of aost, the accessory consonant *v* developing before the rounded vowel (Nyrop I, § 279, 2). Rhodanien has retained the form with the *v* giving *avoust*.

(b) AGURIUM gave in Old Provençal agur and aur. Rhodanien has preserved the second form with the loss of the a giving *ur* (Cf. O. Fr. eur, Mod. Fr. *heur*).

(2) G followed by A. There are some doublets in Old Provençal but Rhodanien has preserved the form with *g*. One can fairly assume that the forms where the G has disappeared are dialectal or due to French or Franco-provençal influence.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CASTIGARE | castiar(castigar) | *castiga* |
| FUGA | fuga | *fugo* |
| FATIGARE | fadiar(fatigar) | *fatiga* |
| LIGARE | ligar(liar) | *liga(lia)* |
| NEGARE | negar | *nega* |
| PAGANUM | pagan | *pagan* |
| PLAGA | plaga(plaia) | *plago* |
| SANGUISUGA | sancsuga | *sansugo* |

(a) Some words had apparently lost the G in the Folk Latin period (Grandgent, Vulgar Latin, § 263).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| LEGALEM | leial | *leiau* |
| REGALEM | reial | *reiau* |

(b) *Fatiga* shows learned influence by the retention of the intervocalic *t*.

(c) The tendency to produce forms with *i* such as *plai*, *neiar* is a Franco-Provençal peculiarity, found in the north and east (Grandgent, p. 50).

(3) G followed by E, I. The popular tendency was for the G to disappear.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| MAGISTRUM | maestre(mestre) | *mèstre* |
| NIGELLA | niela | *nielo* |
| PAGENSEM | paes(pais) | *pais* |
| REGINA | reina(regina) | *reino*(*regino*) |

(a) Forms like *flagèu*, *sagèu*, *fugi*, *regino* are either learned or foreign.

125. G final.

(1) Free.

(a) Before E it becomes *i*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| LEGEM | lei | *lèi* |
| REGEM | rei | *rèi* |

(b) Before O, U, it disappears.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| FAGUM | fag(fau) | *fau* |
| JUGUM | jo | *jou* |

(2) Supported. The G becomes voiceless in Old Provençal and is represented by *c*. The G has been restored by a process of reconstruction in Rhodanien, but is silent unless the next word begins with a vowel, when it is voiceless.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| LARGUM | larc | *larg* |
| LONGUM | lonc | *long* |
| SANGUEM | sanc | *sang* |

### Fricatives

126. Book Latin had labial, dental, palatal, and laryngal fricatives. The only laryngal fricative was H and it was unknown to the Folk Latin. There remain the labials F, V, W, the dental S and the palatal J (yod).

F

127. F initial remains.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| FERRUM | ferre | *fèrri* |
| FLOREM | flor | *flour* |
| FRATREM | fraire | *fraire* |
| INFERNUM | enfern | *infèr* |
| INFANTEM | enfant(t) | *enfant* |

(a) In Bearn and a portion of Gascony initial F followed by a vowel became *h*. Thus the Rhodanien *fam, ferre* become *ham, her* in Gascon.

128. F followed by a consonant remains.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| GAROFALUM | girofle | *girofle* |
| SUFFLARE | soflar | *soufla* |
| SUFFERIRE | sofrir | *soufri* |

129. F interconsonantal. There are few examples. If the consonant following is L the group remains.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ENFLARE | enflar | *enfla* |

(a) F has become *p* in *soupre*, Lat. SULPHUR. The Gascon has retained the *f* in this word. Practically all the other Provençal dialects have a form with *p*.

130. F intervocalic existed in Latin in compounds only. The examples in Rhodanien are obscure. In *Estève*, Old Provençal Esteve, Latin STEPHANUM, F (PH) has become *v*.

(a) In the neighborhood of labial vowels it tended to disappear in Old Provençal but none of these words have survived in Rhodanien. One must assume learned or foreign origin for words with intervocalic *f*.

131. F final. Examples of words descending from the Latin are lacking.

V

132. V initial remains.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ADVOCATUM | avocat | *avoucat* |
| SERVIRE | servir | *servi* |
| SILVATICUM | salvatge | *sauvage* |
| VENTUM | vent | *vènt* |
| VERMEM | verme | *verme* |
| VINDICARE | venjar | *venja* |
| VINUM | vin | *vin* |

(a) In Bearn and a part of Gascony initial v has become *b*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| VENIR | Rhod. *veni* | Gasc. *beni* |
| VENTUM | " *vènt* | " *bent* |
| VINUM | " *fin* | " *bi* |

(b) Initial v has become *f* in *fes*, Lat. VICEM (cf. French *fois*).

(c) In a few cases initial v has been treated like Germanic w and become gu in Old Provençal and *g* in Rhodanien. These cases have apparently been affected by a Germanic word on the same root (Schultz-Gora § 72).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| VADUM(watan) | gua | *ga* |
| VASTARE(wastjan) | guastar | *gastar* |
| VASCONIA | Guasconha | *Gascougno* |

(d) While *guespo* might be explained in the same way as the above examples it is probably French influence, as Old Provençal has vespa. Other Provençal dialects have forms either with *b* or *v*.

133. v followed by a consonant vocalizes to *u*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CIVITATEM | ciutat | *ciéutat* |
| VIVRE | viure | *viéure* |

(a) VJ. See § 150, 3.

134. v intervocalic remains.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CAVARE | cavar | *cava* |
| FAVOREM | favor | *favour* |
| LAVARE | lavar | *lava* |
| NOVAM | nova | *novo* |

(a) There was a tendency in Old Provençal for v intervocalic to disappear especially before labial vowels although there is usually a form with the v retained. Rhodanien has preserved this second form in *pavoun*, Old Provençal paon, pavon, Lat. PAVONEM (Schultz-Gora § 72a).

(b) *Pau*, Old Provençal, pavor, paor, paur, Lat. PAVOREM has lost the v.

135. v final vocalizes to *u*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| NATIVUM | natiu | *natiéu* |
| NAVEM | nau | *nau* |
| VIVUM | viu | *viéu* |
| NOVUM | nou | *nòu* |

136. In the groups QU, GU, the bilabial fricative W existed in Book Latin after the palatal stops K, G, as in EQUA, QUARE, LINGUA. In Folk Latin W was developed from an unaccented U in hiatus as in TENUEM, JANUARIUM.

137. In Provençal this W of Latin source has disappeared.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| EQUA | ega | *èga* |
| LINGUA | lenga | *lengo* |
| QUARE | car | *car* |
| QUOMODO | coma | *coume* |

(a) *Janvié*, Lat. JANUARIUM is French.

(b) Germanic W both initial and intervocalic is represented in Old Provençal by gu (Schultz-Gora § 73). The u of gu has become silent in Rhodanien.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| WERA | guerra | *guerro* |
| WISA | guisa | *guiso* |

(c) The Latin UI of the DEBUI type of perfects has been treated in the same way as the Germanic W and in Rhodanien this *gu* has invaded the perfects of all verbs except those of the first conjugation (§ 187, 1; Schultz-Gora § 73).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| DEBUISSEMUS | deguessem | *deguessian* |
| HABUISSEM | agues | *aguèsse* |

S

138. There was in Latin a single dental fricative S which was always voiceless. The corresponding voiced sound z was unknown to the Latin and is still unknown to Roumanian and Spanish but found in the other Romance tongues (Nyrop, I § 456).

139. S initial followed by a vowel remains.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| PULSARE | polsar | *poussa* |
| SALUTARE | saludar | *saluda* |
| SERVIRE | servi | *servi* |
| SETA | seda | *sedo* |
| SOROR | sorre | *sorre* |
| URSA | orsa | *ourso* |

140. S initial followed by a consonant develops a prosthetic E in Folk Latin (§ 160). This survived in Rhodanien.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| SCALA | escala | *escalo* |
| SCRIBERE | escriure | *escriéure* |
| SPATHA | espaza | *espaso* |
| STABULUM | estable | *estable* |
| STRICTUM | estrech | *estre* |

141. S followed by a consonant. There are several groups which must be considered separately.

(1) SJ. See § 151, 1.

(2) SM. The S disappears.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ABISSIMUM | abisme | *abime* |
| TESTIMONIARE | temonha | *temounia* |

(a) *Batisme* is half learned.

(3) SR. See § 89, 4.

(4) S followed by other consonants remains.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ASINUM | asne | *ase* |
| ASPERUM | aspre | *aspre* |
| AUSCULTARE | escoltar | *escouta* |
| COSTA | costa | *costo* |
| INSULA | isla(iscla) | *isclo* |
| MUSCA | mosca | *mousco* |
| TESTA | testa | *testo* |

142. S intervocalic becomes voiced. In Old Provençal this sound is represented by z and in Rhodanien by *s*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CAUSA | cauza | *causo* |
| PENSARE | pezar | *pesa* |
| SPONSAM | espoza | *espouso* |
| WISA | ġuiza | *guiso* |

143. S final remains.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| AMAS | amas | *ames* |
| CORPUS | cors | *cors* |
| CURSUM | cors | *cours* |
| NASUM | nas | *nas* |
| NOS | nos | *nous* |
| PLUS | plus | *plus* |
| TEMPUS | tems(tens) | *tèms* |
| VISUM | vis | *vis* |

Remark. The pronunciation of final *s* varies greatly in various parts of the Provençal field but usually *s* is voiceless after a vowel and silent after a consonant. Liaison is allowed but is not as common as in French. When *s* is carried it is voiced (Ronjat, Ourt. pp. 13, 14).

SS

144. In Old Provençal, Latin SS was reduced to S in all positions (Schultz-Gora § 62). In Rhodanien *ss* has been restored to represent the voiceless *s* in the intervocalic position where a single *s* is voiced.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| BASSUM | bas | *bas* |
| GROSSA | grosa | *grosso* |
| GROSSUM | gros | *gros* |
| PASSARE | pasar | *passa* |

J

145. In Book Latin there was one palatal fricative J as in JAM, JOCUM. In Folk Latin the hiatus I(E) in words like CAVEA, RATIONEM developed into the same sound, these words being pronounced [kavja], [ratjone]. The Appendix Probi has CAVEA NON CAVIA.

146. J initial survives but is pronounced [dʒ] in Old Provençal and [dz] in Rhodanien.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| JACERE | jaire | *jaire* |
| JOCUM | joc | *jò* |
| JUDICEM | jutge | *juge* |

147. J medial varied according to location. In the north and east it survived being represented by *i* but over the rest of the field it became [dʒ]. In Rhodanien [dʒ] became [dz].

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| MAJOR | maier | *mage* |
| PEJOR | pejor(peger) | *pege(pieje)* |

(a) Words from the north and east have made their way into the literary language. These may be known by their intervocalic *i*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| RAJA | raia | *raio* |
| TROJA | troia | *trueio* |

148. Consonant followed by yod. There are many groups that must be examined separately. The result depends on the preceding consonant.

149. Liquid N, L, R, followed by yod.

(1) NJ. This group gave N mouillé [ɲ]. See § 74.

(2) LJ. This group gave L mouillé [ʎ]. See § 81.

(3) RJ. It is hard to decide what the regular development of this groups is, as the results in the different regions vary so. It must be treated in the intervocalic and final position.

(a) Intervocalic. The regular result seems to be *ir*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| AREA | aira | *airo* |
| VARIA | vaira | *vairo* |

(1) If an A preceded and the resultant diphthong was in the pretonic position, it became *ei* as the diphthong *ai* does not occur in Rhodanien in the pretonic position (§ 42a Rem).

(2) In some cases the palatal consonant merely caused a diphthongization of the preceding vowel without developing *i* before *r* (§ 35). Thus Lat. FERIA gave feira, fiera, and fieira in Old Provençal. Rhodanien has *fiero* but the dialects show both *feiro, fieiro*.

(b) Final. The palatalization is lost after causing the diphthongization of the preceding vowel where possible (§§ 33, 35).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CORIUM | cuer | *cuer* |
| MINISTERIUM | mestier | *mestié* |
| MONASTERIUM | mostier | *moustié* |

Remark. Lat. -ARIUS was apparently replaced in the Provençal field by -ERIUS (Schultz-Gora § 24; Grandgent § 23, 1). Adjectives in -ERIUM, -ERIA should have given -ier, -eira, which were the regular endings in Old Provençal. By analogy with the feminine we get masculines in -eir and by analogy with the masculine we get feminines in iera, ieira. The modern dialects show the greatest confusion of forms. In Rhodanien however the masculine type has survived and we have such adjectives as *premié, premiero; parié, pariero; entié, entiero* etc.

150. A labial followed by yod gives the following groups, PJ, BJ, VJ, MJ. In French the labial vanished in these groups by assimilation and leaves either [ʃ] or [ʒ] (Nyrop I § 472). In Provençal on the contrary, while it is very hard to decide what is the regular development because of the great multiplicity of forms, we can assume assimilation only in the case of PJ. All the other cases of assimilation are very doubtful. We will take up the forms in order.

(1) PJ. In Old Provençal this group gives pch in which the p may have been silent, most certainly was in parts of the field. In Rhodanien this pch became ch [ts].

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| APPROPIARE | apropchar | *aproucha* |
| SAPIAM | sapcha | *sache* |
| SAPIENTEM | sachent | *sachènt* |

(a) *Sage* points to a Folk Latin SABIUM for SAPIUM or SAPIDUM (Meyer-Lübke, Wört. 7587; Schwan-Behrens § 192). The word is not free from a suspicion of French influence. The form *sàvi* on the same root is learned (§ 154).

(b) *Pijoun*, Old Provençal pijon, Lat. PIPIONEM demands a Folk Latin PIBIONEM. (Meyer-Lübke, Wört. 6522a; Schwan-Behrens § 103, 2).

(2) BJ. The results of this group are confusing. While Rhodanien has a number of words that show the development [dz] these forms show French influence. Many of them too have doublets in *-bi* corresponding to Old Provençal words of similar form where no assimilation has taken place. These forms in *-bi* may be learned (§ 153 et seq.).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CAMBIARE | camjar | *chanja* |
| RABIEM | ratge | *rage* |
| RUBEUM | roge | *rouge* |

(a) *Chanja* shows French or Franco-provençal influence by its initial *ch* (§ 115, 2a). The forms *canja* and *cambia* are also found.

(b) *Rouge* in Old Provençal had the forms rog, roi and roge. The latter form is French and has survived in Rhodanien *rouge*.

(c) Book Latin RABIEM gave Folk Latin RABIA (Meyer-Lübke, Castro. § 162). Old Provençal had ratge, ratie, rabi. The first two forms are French (Schultz-Gora § 86) and survive in Rhodanien *rage*. *Ràbi* is learned (§ 153 et seq.).

(3) VJ. A number of words show vocalization of v and development of j to [dʒ] in Old Provençal and [dz] in Rhodanien (Grandgent § 73; Schultz-Gora § 86).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ABBREVIARE | abreujar | *abréuja* |
| AGGREVIARE | agreujar | *agréuja* |
| ALLEVIARE | aleujar | *aléuja* |
| LEVIARIUM | leugier | *leugié(lougié)* |

(a) *Gàbi*, *gàbio*, Old Prov. gabia indicate a Folk Latin GABIA for Book Lat. CAVEA (Schultz-Gora § 80a). Italian *gabbia* and Catalan *gabia* support this theory.

(b) Book Latin PLUVIA gave way to Folk Latin PLOIA perhaps under the influence of PLOVERE which existed in Latin beside PLUERE (Meyer-Lübke, Castro. § 152).

(4) MJ (MNJ, MMJ). This group gives [ɲdz] in Rhodanien although there were many forms in Old Provençal.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| COMMEATUM | comjat(comnhat) | *counget* |
| SOMNIARE | somiar(somnhar) | *sounja* |
| SOMNIUM | somi(somni)(somnhe) | *sounge* |

(a) *Vendèmi*, Old Provençal vendemia, Lat. VENDEMIA, has in Rhodanien also the form *vendèmio* which is regular. *Vendèmi* shows the influence of the many learned words in unstressed *i* (§ 154).

(b) *Sounge*, *sounja* are not free from a suspicion of French influence.

Remark. Forms which show assimilation of the labial and development of [ts], [dz] can be found in one dialect or another but there is no regularity.

151. Dental followed by yod. There are three groups, SJ, TJ, DJ.

(1) SJ. This group regularly gave iz in Old Provençal and *is* in Rhodanien.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| BASIARE | baizar | *beisa* |
| ECCLESIAM | gleiza | *glèiso* |
| FUSIONEM | foizon | *fouisoun* |
| MANSIONEM | maizon | *meisoun* |
| NAUSEAM | noiza | *nouiso* |

(a) SSJ gave is in Old Provençal and *iss* in Rhodanien.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| BASSIARE | baisar | *beissa* |
| MESSIONEM | meison | *meissoun* |
| GRASSIARE | graisar | *greissa* |

(2) TJ. This group must be treated according to its position in the word. Its development also depends upon the preceding consonant when there is one.

(a) TJ intervocalic. In some regions notably the north and west (Grandgent § 73) this group gave [dʒ] in Old Provençal. In the south and east (Grandgent § 73) it gave [idʒ]. Rhodanien has examples of both developments though the [ʒ] has been reduced to [z].

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ORATIONEM | oraizon | *ouresoun* |
| POTIONEM | poizon | *pouisoun* |
| RATIONEM | razon(raizon) | *resoun* |
| SATIONEM | saizon | *sessoun* |
| TITIONEM | tizon | *tisoun* |

(1) Old Provençal aiz has been reduced to *es* in *resoun, sesoun*. We would expect *reisoun, seisoun* (§ 42) and these forms are found. Mistral gives *resoun, reisoun* as forms from the Dauphiné and *sesoun* as Languedocien. It seems quite likely that these words have been influenced by the French *raison, saison*. The *e* represents the French *ai* better than the *ei*. Old Provençal orazon had also a form oraizon which may have survived in *ouresoun*. However Mistral does not give a form with *ei*, so it seems likely that ouresoun has been influenced by *resoun*. Mistral always uses the forms with *e*.

(2) There are examples also of the development without *i*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ACUTIARE | aguzar | *agusa* |
| PRETIARE | prezar | *presa* |

(3) The suffix -ITIA should have given -eza in Old Provençal (Schultz-Gora § 87). Many forms in -eza are found but with them Old Provençal has a number of forms in -esa. The latter is the regular development of -ICIA, not -ITIA (Schultz-Gora § 88). We know that these endings were confused in Folk Latin, JUSTICIA for JUSTITIA being common (Adams p. 199). The common form in Catalan is -esa. In French we have *-esse* along with other forms (Nyrop I § 196, 2 Rem). The form -esa gave in Rhodanien *-esso* and this suffix aided by the influence of Catalan and French, has almost crowded out the regular ending *-eso* which should have developed from -eza. There was evidently a confusion of the suffixes in Old Provençal as can be seen by the examples.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *ALEGRITIAM | alegresa | *alegresso* |
| ALTITIAM | alteza | *autesso* |
| *ARDIDITIAM | ardideza | *ardidesso* |
| *BELLITIAM | beleza | *belesso* |
| PIGRITIAM | pigreza | *pigresso* |
| *RICHITIAM | riqueza | *richesso* |
| TRISTITIAM | tristeza | *tristesso* |

(4) There are also examples of *-eso* although they are words not so commonly used.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| AMARITIAM | amareza | *amareso* |
| *FATITIAM | fadeza | *fadeso* |
| *FRANCHITIAM | franqueza | *franqueso* |
| *INFANTITIAM | enfanteza | *enfanteso* |

Remark. That there was confusion of suffixes is very apparent when we examine the dialects. Of the seven words cited above in *-esso*, Mistral gives forms in *-eso* for all except *tristesso* and of the four in *-eso* he gives forms in *-esso* for all except *enfanteso*.

(b) TJ medial preceded by S or C gave *i* followed by voiceless *s*. The voiceless *s* is represented in Rhodanien by *s*, or *c*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ANGUSTIAM | angoisa | *angouisso* |
| DIRECTIARE | dreisar | *dreissa* |
| FACTIONEM | faison | *feiçoun* |
| LECTIONEM | leison | *leiçoun* |
| PUNCTIONEM | ponson | *pounçoun* |
| TRACTIARE | trasar | *trassa* |

(c) TJ medial preceded by any other consonant than S or T gave voiceless *s* represented in Rhodanien by *s*, *ss*, *ç*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ALTIARE | ausar | *aussa* |
| CANTIONEM | canson | *cansoun* |
| CAPTIARE | casar | *cassa* |
| COMINITIARE | comensar | *coumença* |
| CORRUPTIARE | corrosar | *courroussa* |
| FORTIARE | forsar | *fourça* |
| INFANTIAM | enfansa | *enfanço* |
| NOPTIAS | nossas | *noço* |
| SPERANTIAM | esperansa | *esperanço* |

(d) TJ final. We do not have *i* except in the dialects. The usual result in Old Provençal was tz which in Rhodanien was reduced to *s*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| PRETIUM | pretz | *pres* |
| PUTEUM | potz | *pous* |
| SOLATIUM | solatz | *soulas* |

Remark. *Palais*, Old Provençal palatz, Lat. PALATIUM, Old Provençal had also palaitz and palais. The latter form is French. (Schultz-Gora § 87), and has survived in Rhodanien *palais*.

(3) DJ, initial, intervocalic or medial preceded by any consonant but N, gave j [dʒ] in Old Provençal and j [dz] in Rhodanien.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| APPODIARE | apojar | *apieja* |
| DIURNUM | jorn | *jour* |
| DIURNALEM | jornal | *journau* |
| HORDEUM | orge | *orge* |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| INODIARE | enojar | *enuja* |
| MEDIA | mieja | *miejo* |
| VIRIDIARIUM | vergier | *vergié* |

(a) Preceded by N the group gave nh [ɲ] in Old Provençal and *gn* [ɲ] in Rhodanien.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| BURGUNDIA | Borgonha | *Bourgougno* |
| VERECUNDIA | vergonha | *vergougno* |

(b) Final. The regular result was [tʃ] in Old Provençal represented by g or ch. In Rhodanien this [tʃ] became [ts] and later became silent and dropped.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| GAUDIUM | gaug | *gau* |
| MEDIUM | mieg | *mie(ch)* |
| PODIUM | pog | *pue(ch)* |

Remark. In certain sections principally the north (Grandgent p. 54) this group final gave *i* and many of these forms have made their way into Rhodanien.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| GLADIUM | glai | *glai* |
| HODIE | oi | *vuei* |
| INODIO | enoi | *enuei* |
| RADIUM | rai | *rai* |

152. Palatal followed by yod. There are two groups, CJ and GJ.

(1) CJ.

(a) Medial, this group gives s in Old Provençal and *ç* or *ss* in Rhodanien.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| BRACIARE | brasar | *brassa* |
| CALCEAM | causa | *causso* |
| GLACIAM | glasa | *glaço* |
| LANCEAM | lansa | *lanço* |
| MINACIAM | menasa | *menaço* |

Remark. Rhodanien *fague* is not from FACIAM but from FACAM (Meyer-Lübke, Castro. § 81).

(b) Final, this group gave tz [ts] which was reduced to *s* in Rhodanien.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| BRACHIUM | bratz | *bras* |
| DULCEUM | doltz | *dous* |
| GLACIEM | glatz | *glas* |

(2) GJ.

(a) Medial. This group gave j [dʒ] in Old Provençal and j [dz] in Rhodanien.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CORRIGIARE | gorrejar | *gourreja* |
| SPONGIAM | esponja | *espounjo* |

Remark. Beside Old Provençal esponja there was a form esponga from which we have Rhodanien *espoungo* a form used more frequently than *espounjo*.

(b) Final, this group gives *i*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| EXAGIUM | assai | *assai* |

153. One of the most striking characteristics of Rhodanien is the great number of words ending in unstressed *-i* such as *memòri, testimòni, estudi*. These words consist in a large part of learned words and great numbers of these are found also in Old Provençal. The Latin etyma usually have an hiatus I in the termination but there are cases where it is lacking and the word has merely assumed the conventional learned or foreign form. There are also a large number of words which in Old Provençal retained the Latin vowel after the hiatus I such as Old Provençal abondantia. These also assumed in Rhodanien the form in unstressed *i* as *aboundànci*. Owing to the interest and importance of this phenomenon it has been thought desirable to present in the following paragraphs as complete a list as possible of the words concerned. They were gathered exclusively from the published literary works of Mistral and have been studied chiefly from the etymological point of view.

154. The following words existed in practically the same form in Old Provençal and are words in which the learned origin is very apparent.

*Acòrdi*, harmony, Old Provençal acordi, Lat. *ACCORDIUM.

*Alòdi*, freehold, Old Prov. allodi, Folk Lat. ALODIUM, Germ. allod.

*Alòngui*, delay, Old Provençal. Connected with Old Provençal verb allongar.

*Apoustòli*, apostle, Old Provençal apostoli, Lat. APOSTOLICUS.

*Armàri*, closet, Old Provençal armari, Lat. ARMARIUM.

*Auditòri*, audience, Old Provençal auditori, Lat. AUDITORIUM.

*Aversàri*, adversary, Old Provençal aversari, Lat. ADVERSARIUM.

*Bàrri*, rampart, wall, Old Provençal barri, Low Latin (Mist.) BARRIUM.

*Bestiàri*, animals in general, Old Provençal bestiari, Lat. BESTIARIUM.

*Breviàri*, breviary, Old Provençal breviari, Lat. BREVIARIUM.

*Càmbi*, change, exchange, Old Provençal cambi, Lat. CAMBIUM.

*Capitàni*, captain, Old Provençal capitani, Lat. CAPITANEUM.

*Capitòli*, capitole, hotel de ville, Old Provençal capitoli, Lat. CAPITOLIUM.

*Celidòni*, (*celidònio*) chalcedon, Old Provençal celidoni, celidonia, Lat. CHELIDONIA.

*Cementéri* (*çamentèri*), cemetery, Old Provençal cementeri, Lat. COEMENTERIUM.

*Cibòri*, pyx, Old Provençal cibori, Lat. CIBORIUM.

*Councòrdi* (*councòrdio*), concord, harmony, Old Provençal concordi, concordia, Lat. CONCORDIA.

*Counsciènci*, conscience, conscious, Old Provençal conciencia, cossiencia, Lat. CONSCIENTIA.

*Counsistòri*, consistory, Old Provençal consistori, Lat. CONSISTORIUM.

*Countùni*, (*de countuni*) continually, Old Provençal contuni, Lat. CONTINUE.

*Countràri*, contrary, Old Provençal contrari, Lat. CONTRARIUM.

*Coursàri*, corsair, Old Provençal corsari, Lat. CORSARIUM.

*Custòdi* (*custòdio*) watch, guard, Old Provençal custodi, custodia, Lat. CUSTODIA.

*Demòni*, demon, Old Provençal demoni, Lat. DAEMONIUM.

*Descòrdi*, see discordi.

*Desvàri*, madness, Old Provençal and Cat. desvari.

*Discòrdi*, (*discòrdio*) discord, Old Provençal discordi, Lat. DISCORDIA.

*Divòrci*, divorce, Old Provençal divorsi, Lat. DIVORTIUM.

*Dourmitòri*, dormitory, Old Provençal dormitori, Lat. DORMITORIUM.

*Empèri*, empire, power, Old Provençal emperi, Lat. IMPERIUM.

*Encèndi*, fire, Old Provençal encèndi, Lat. INCENDIUM.

*Endourmitòri*, see *dourmitòri*. Has also the meaning soporific.

*Ermitòri*, hermitage, Old Provençal ermitòri, Lat. EREMITORIUM.

*Espàci*, apace, Old Provençal espazi, espaci, espasi, Lat. SPATIUM.

*Estraourdinàri*, extraordinary, Old Provençal extraordinari, Lat. EXTRAORDINARIUM.

*Estùdi*, study, Old Provençal estudi, Lat. STUDIUM.

*Evangèli*, gospel, Old Provençal evangeli, Lat. EVANGELIUM.

*Evòri*, ivory, Old Provençal evori, Lat. EBOREUM.

*Fàci*, (*fàcio*) face, front, Old Provençal fasi, facia, Folk Lat. FACIA.

*Feudatàri*, vassal, Old Provençal feudatari, feuzatier, Lat. FEUDATARIUM.

*Flùvi*, river, stream, Old Provençal fluvi, Lat. FLUVIUM.

*Fustàni*, fustian, Old Provençal fustani, Low Lat. FUSTANIUM (Mist.).

*Gàrri*, rat, cry used in a child's game, Old Provençal garri.

*Invoulountàri*, see *voulountàri*, involuntary, Cat. involontari, Lat. INVOLUNTARIUM.

*Lapidàri*, lapidary, Old Provençal lapidari, Lat. LAPIDARIUM.

*Lèri*, fresh, cheerful, Old Provençal leri. Meyer-Lübke in his dictionary gives Gallic leri, cheerful as etymon.

*Magistèri*, mastery, Old Provençal magisteri, Lat. MAGISTERIUM.

*Malancòni*, melancholy, Old Provençal malenconi, malanconi, Lat. MELANCHOLIA.

*Matrimòni*, marriage, Old Provençal and Cat. matrimoni, Lat. MATRIMONIUM.

*Memòri*, (*memòrio*) memory, Old Provençal memori, memoria, Lat. MEMORIA.

*Misèri*, (*misèrio*) misery, Old Provençal mizeri, Lat. MISERIA.

*Mistèri*, mystery, Old Provençal mesteri, Cat. mesteri, Lat. MYSTERIUM.

*Mounastèri*, monastery, Old Provençal monasteri, Lat. MONASTERIUM.

*Necessàri*, necessary, Old Provençal necesari, Lat. NECESSARIUM.

*Negòci*, business, commerce, Old Provençal negoci, Lat. NEGOTIUM.

*Nèrvi*, nerve, Old Provençal, Cat. nervi, Lat. NERVIUM.

*Nèsci*, stupid, silly, Old Provençal nesci, Cat. neci, Lat. NESCIUM.

*Noutàri*, notary, Old Provençal, Cat. Notari, Lat. NOTARIUM.

*Nòvi*, fiancé, Old Provençal novi, Lat. NOVIUM.

*Òdi*, hate, Old Provençal odi, Lat. ODIUM.

*Òli*, oil, Old Provençal oli, Lat. OLEUM.

*Òrdi*, barley, Old Provençal ordi, orge, Lat. HORDEUM.

*Ouratòri*, orator, Old Provençal oratori, Lat. ORATOREM.

*Ourdinàri*, ordinary, Old Provençal ordenari, Cat. ordinari, Lat. ORDINARIUM.

*Pacièncі*, patience, Old Provençal patienci, paciensa, Lat. PATIENTIAM.

*Pàli*, silk cloth, Old Provençal pali, palli, Old French palie, Lat. PALLIUM.

*Parlatòri*, parlor, Old Provençal parlatori, Low Lat. PARLATORIUM.
*Patrimòni*, patrimony, Old Provençal patrimoni, Lat. PATRIMONIUM.
*Precàri*, precarious, Old Provençal, Cat. precari, Lat. PRECARIUM.
*Prefàci*, (*prefàcio*) preface, Old Provençal, Cat. prefaci, Lat. PRAEFATIO.
*Pretòri*, praetor, Old Provençal, Cat. pretori, Lat. PRAETORIUM.
*Prouprietàri*, proprietor, Old Provençal, Cat. proprietari, Lat. PROPRIETATEM + -ARIUM.
*Prouvèrbi*, proverb, Old Provençal proverbi, Lat. PROVERBIUM.
*Purgatòri*, purgatory, Old Provençal purgatori, Lat. PURGATORIUM.
*Raubatòri*, theft, seduction, Old Provençal raubatori, Germanic root, raubon.
*Reboustèri*, a funeral feast, Old Provençal rebosteri, connected with Lat. REPONERE, Old Prov. rebondre, to bury.
*Reliquari*, reliquary, Old Provençal, Cat. reliquiari, Lat. RELIQUUM + ARIUS.
*Remèdi*, remedy, Old Provençal remedi, Lat. REMEDIUM.
*Reprouvèrbi*, see prouvèrbi.
*Salàri*, salary, Old Provençal, Cat. salari, Lat. SALARIUM.
*Santuàri*, sanctuary, Old Provençal sanctuari, Lat. SANCTUARIUM.
*Sapiènci*, wisdom, Old Provençal sapienci, sabieza, Lat. SAPIENTIAM.
*Sautèri*, psalter, Old Provençal sauteri, Lat. PSALTERIUM.
*Sàvi*, (*sàbi*) wise, Old Provençal savi, Lat. SAPIUS, SABIUS.
*Silènci*, silence, Old Provençal silènci, Lat. SILENTIUM.
*Sincòpi*, syncope, Old Provençal, Cat. sincopi, Lat. SYNCOPE.
*Soulitàri*, solitary, Old Provençal solitari, Lat. SOLITARIUM.
*Susàri*, shroud, Old Provençal suzari, Lat. SUDARIUM.
*Testimòni*, witness, testimony, Old Provençal testimoni, Lat. TESTIMONIUM.
*Transitòri*, transitory, Old Provençal transitori, Lat. TRANSITORIUM
*Vicari*, vicar, Old Provençal vicari, Lat. VICARIUM.
*Vitupèri*, blame, shame, Old Provençal vituperi, Lat. VITUPERIUM.
*Voulountàri*, voluntary, Old Provençal volontari, Lat. VOLUNTARIUM.

155. In the case of the following words the form in unstressed *i* is not found in Old Provençal although it may have existed. The corresponding form in Old Provençal ends in *-ia* or *-a*. In a number of cases there is a counterpart of this form in Rhodanien

in *-io*. The forms in unstressed *i* may be the continuation of forms in *-i* in Old Provençal not found in literature or they may have been formed by analogy with the numerous forms in *-i*.

*Aboundànci*, (*aboundàncio*) abundance, Old Provençal abondantia, abondancia, abondansa, Lat. ABUNDANTIAM.

*Assistènci*, (*assistèncio*) assistance, Old Provençal assistencia, Lat. ASSISTENTIAM.

*Audàci*, (*audàcio*) audacity, boldness, Old Provençal audacia, Lat. AUDACIAM.

*Bèsti*, (*bèstio*) beast, animal, Old Provençal bestia, Lat. BESTIAM.

*Carrùbi*, locust-bean, Old Provençal carrubia, carobla, Lat. GARROBIS.

*Cerimòni*, (*ceremòni*, *cermòunio*) ceremony, Old Provençal cerimonia, Lat. CERIMONIAM.

*Cèrvi*, stag, Old Provençal cervia, cerv, cer, cervi, It. cervio, Lat. CERVUS.

*Circonstànci*, (*circonstàncio*) circumstance, Old Provençal circumstancia, Lat. CIRCUMSTANTIAM.

*Couloufòni*, (*couloufònio*, *colofònio*) colophane, Old Provençal colophonia, Lat. COLOPHONIAM.

*Coumèdi*, (*coumèdio*) comedy, Old Provençal comedia, Lat. COMEDIAM.

*Dedicàci*, dedication, Old Provençal dedicacio, dedicatio, Lat. DEDICATIO.

*Despaciènci*, impatience. Mistral does not give this word in the *Tresor* but uses it in *Calendau* p. 268, 1. 1. See *impaciénci*.

*Destrùci*, (*destrùssi*) destroyer, destroying, Old Provençal destruccio, Lat. DESTRUCTIO.

*Distànci*, (*distàncio*) distance, Old Provençal distancia, Lat. DISTANTIAM.

*Eicelènci*, excellency, Old Provençal excellencia, Lat. EXCELLENTIAM.

*Eisistènci*, existence, Old Provençal existencia, Lat. EXISTENTIAM.

*Endùstri*, industrious, Old Provençal (subst) endustria, Lat. INDUSTRIAM.

*Enfluènci*, (*enfluèncio*) influence, Old Provençal influencia, enfluensa, Lat. INFLUENTIAM.

*Espèci*, (*espècio*) species, kind, Old Provençal especia, Lat. SPECIAM.

*Estànci*, story, apartment, Old Provençal estansa, estansia, Lat. STANTIAM.

*Fàbi*, hole, ditch; jar, Old Provençal fabia, Lat. (Mist.) FOVEA.

*Fanfòni*, (*founfòni*) symphony, Old Prov. simphonia, Lat. SYMPHONIAM.

*Gàbi*, (*gàbio*) cage, Old Provençal gabia, Lat. CAVEAM.

*Gàrdi*, guard, Old Provençal garda, gardia, Lat. GUARDIAM (Germ. wardan).

*Glòri*, (*glòrio*) glory, Old Provençal gloria, Lat. GLORIAM. Mistral also uses *gloio* (*Mirèio* p. 40) but does not give this form in his *Tresor* nor is it found in the *Pichot Tresor* of Xavier de Fourvières.

*Gràci*, (*gràcio*) grace, favor, Old Provençal gracia, Lat. GRATIAM.

*Grùpi*, (*grùpio*) crib, manger, Old Provençal crupia, crepcha, Germ. kribja, krupja (Meyer-Lübke, Wört).

*Impaciènci*, impatience, Old Provençal inpaciencia, Lat. IMPATIENTIAM.

*Indulgènci*, (*indulgèncio*) indulgence, Old Provençal indulgencia, endulgensa, Lat. INDULGENTIAM.

*Injùri*, (*injùrio*) insult, Old Provençal injuria, enjuria, Lat. INJURIAM.

*Innoucènci*, (*innoucèncio*) innocence, Old Provençal inocensa, innocencia, Lat. INNOCENTIAM.

*Inteligènci*, (*inteligèncio*) intelligence, Old Provençal intelligencia, Lat. INTELLIGENTIAM.

*Istòri*, (*istòrio*) history, Old Provençal estoria, istoria, Lat. HISTORIAM.

*Làmi*, (*làmio*) shark, Old Provençal lamia, Lat. LAMIAM.

*Laùpi*, (*laùpio*) arbor, shelter, Old Provençal laupia, Germ. laubja (Meyer-Lübke, Wört.).

*Lussùri*, lust, Old Provençal luxuria, Lat. LUXURIAM.

*Magnificènci*, magnificence, Old Provençal magnificencia, Lat. MAGNIFICENTIAM.

*Manicòrdi*, one stringed instrument, Old Provençal manicorda, Cat. manacordi, Gr. MONOCHORDON.

*Matèri*, (*matèrio*) matter, substance, Old Provençal materia, Lat. MATERIAM.

*Misericòrdi*, mercy, compassion, Old Provençal mizericordia, Lat. MISERICORDIAM.

*Nouvelàri*, newcomer, Old Provençal novellaria, Lat. NOVELARIUS.

*Oubediènci*, obedience, Old Provençal obediensa, Lat. OBOEDIENTIAM.

*Ourtogràfi*, orthography, Old Provençal ortografia, Lat. ORTHOGRAPHIAM.

*Penitènci*, (*penitèncio*) penitence, Old Provençal penitentia, penedensa, Lat. POENITENTIAM.

*Poutènci*, (*poutèncio*) gallows, Old Provençal potencia, Lat. POTENTIAM.

*Presènci*, presence, Old Provençal prezensa, Lat. PRAESENTIAM.

*Presidènci*, (*presidèncio*) presidency, Old Provençal presidencia, Lat. PRAESIDENTIAM.

*Prouvidènci*, providence, Old Provençal providensa, Lat. PROVIDENTIAM.

*Ràbi*, (*ràbio*) rage, madness, Old Provençal rabia, Lat. RABIEM.

*Redoulènci*, odor, perfume, Old Provençal redolencia, Latin verb REDOLEO.

*Repentènci*, repentance, regret, Old Provençal repentensa, Lat. RE + POENITENTIAM.

*Resistènci*, resistance, Old Provençal resistencia, Latin verb, RESISTERE.

*Saùvi*, sage (plant) Old Provençal salvia, Lat. SALVIAM.

*Sciènci*, knowledge, Old Provençal sciencia, Lat. SCIENTIAM.

*Sentènci*, sentence, decree, Old Provençal sentensa, sentencia, Lat. SENTENTIAM.

*Sèrvi*, (*servo*, *sèrvio*) reserve, reservoir, park, Old Provençal serva, Latin verb, SERVARE.

*Supèrbi*, (*supèrbio*) pride, Old Provençal soperbia, superbia, Lat. SUPERBIAM.

*Tàpi*, (*tàpio*) hut made of earth, Old Provençal tapia, Goth. tappa, Frankish, tappo.

*Vendèmi*, (*vendèmio*) harvest, Old Provençal vendemia, Lat. VINDEMIA.

*Vioulènci*, violence, Old Provençal violensa, violencia, Lat. VIOLENTIAM.

Remark. So many of these forms in unstressed *-i* have doublets in *-io* that we are justified in assuming that the forms in *-i* are reductions of the forms in *-io* on the analogy of the many learned words of the same type in *-i*. Mistral very rarely uses the forms in *-io*.

156. The following proper and geographical names in unstressed *-i* are found in Mistral.

*Alàri*, Old Provençal Alaric, Lat. ALARICUS.

*Ambròsi*, Ambrose, Old Provençal Ambrueys, Lat. AMBROSIUS.

*Antòni*, Anthony, Old Provençal Antoni, Lat. ANTONIUS.

*Apoucalùssi*, Apocalipse, Old Provençal Apocalipsi, Lat. APOCALYPSE.

*Aquitàni*, Aquitaine, Old Provençal Aquitania, Lat. AQUITANIAM.
*Artùbi*, The Artuby, tributary of the Verdon.
*Bounifàci*, Boniface, Old Provençal Bonifaci, Lat. BONIFATIUS.
*Calvàri*, Calvary, Old Provençal Calvaria, Lat. CALVARIUS.
*Cefalòni*, A Grecian island, Lat. CEPHALLENIAM, CEPHALONIAM.
*Counsòrci*, Consorce, Lat. CONSORTIAM.
*Damiàti*, Damiette, city of Egypt, Old Provençal Damiata, Lat. TAMIATIS.
*Estròpi*, Estropy, name of a Provençal family, Old Provençal Stropi, Lat. (Mist.) EUTROPIUS.
*Gregòri*, Gregory, Old Provençal Gregori, Lat. GREGORIUS.
*Itàli*, (*Itàlio*) Italy, Old Provençal Itali, Lat. ITALIAM.
*Lazàrri*, (*Lazàri*) Lazarus, Old Provençal (Mist.) Lazari, Lat. LAZARUS.
*Macedoni*, Macedonia, Cat. Macedonia, Lat. MACEDONIAM.
*Prùssi*, Prussia, Cat. Prussia, Lat. PRUSSIAM.
*Remèsi*, Ramezy, Lat. REMEDIUS.
*Sidòni*, Sydney, Lat. SIDONIUS.

157. The following list contains words for which the Old Provençal form is usually lacking, or if it exists, the Latin etymon does not seem to justify the form in *-i*. The majority of them are taken directly from the Latin or from some of the Romance languages.

*Àbi*, coat, garment, Old Provençal habit, abit, French habit, Lat. HABITUS.
*Ànci*, (*àncio*) anxiety, danger, Cat. ansia, Lat. ANXIAM.
*Angòni*, (agòni) agony, Lat. AGONIAM.
*Arlèri*, of Arles, Lat. ARLERIUS.
*Àrsi*, burning thirst, Lat. ARSIONEM.
*Àvi*, grandfather, Old Provençal avi, Lat. AVUS.
*Bàbi*, toad, Old Provençal babi, Lat. BABULUS.
*Batistèri*, chapel of baptism, Lat. BAPTISTERIUM.
*Bòmi*, vomit, Old Provençal vomit, Lat. VOMITUS. This word shows Gascon origin by its initial b (§ 99).
*Brancàci*, silly fellow, Lat. PANCRATIUS.
*Càrri*, car, vehicle, Old Provençal car, carre, Lat. CARRUM. This word does not really belong in this list although similar in form. Its source is Old Provençal carre and comes from the dialect of Marseille where the final unstressed e of Old Provençal is represented by *i*. This demands a grave accent on the syllable preceding (Koschwitz, Gr. § 1, 1.). See also *fèrri*.

*Catàrri*, whim, caprice, Old Provençal catar(r), Lat. CATARRHUS. This word like càrri may be an importation from the Marseille dialect.

*Celibatàri*, (*celibatàrio*) bachelor, Port. celibatario.

*Cicori*, chicory, Lat. CICHORIUM.

*Counsulàri*, (*counsulàrio*) consular, Lat. CONSULARIS.

*Dàti*, date, Old Provençal datil, Lat. DACTYLUS.

*Desgràci*, (*desgràcio*) misfortune, accident, Lat. (Mist.) DISGRATIAM.

*Diciounàri*, dictionary, Sp. diccionario, Fr. dictionnaire, Lat. (Mist.) DICTIONARIUM.

*Dignitàri*, dignitary, Lat. DIGNITATEM + -ARIUS.

*Engèni*, (*engènio*) ability, skill, Old Provençal engenh, Cat. engeny, ingeni, Lat. INGENIUM.

*Episòdi*, episode, Sp. episodio, Fr. episode, Lat. EPISODIUM.

*Epitàfi*, epitaph, Old Provençal (Mist.) epitafi, epictafi, Lat. (Mist.) EPITAPHIUM.

*Escapatòri*, loop-hole, means of escape, Sp. Port. escapatoria, Old Provençal verb escapar, Rhod. escapa.

*Esclùssi*, (*clùpsis*, *esclissi*) eclipse, Old Provençal esclipse, clipse, Lat. ECLIPSIS.

*Escòrpi*, cormorant, Cat. escorpi. Seems in some dialects to be confused with Lat. SCORPIUS, a scorpion, as it is used in this sense.

*Esprèssi*, on purpose, Old Provençal expres, Fr. expres, Lat. EXPRESSE.

*Estàsi*, ecstasy, Old Provençal extasis, Lat. EXTASIS.

*Estòri*, rush, Old Provençal estueira, Lat. STOREAM.

*Estùrti*, (*estùltis*) foolish, Old Provençal estout, estolt, Lat. STULTUM.

*Fèrri*, (*ferre*) iron, Old Provençal ferre, fer, Lat. FERRUM. This is the Marseille form of the word (cf. *càrri* above).

*Flòri*, flourishing, Old Provençal florit, Lat. FLORITUM.

*Gàngui*, fishnet dragged after a boat, Old Provençal ganguil, Low Lat. (Mist.) GANGUILO.

*Gèni*, genius, talent, Old Provençal genh, ginh, Sp. Port. It. genio, Lat. GENIUM.

*Ièli*, (*ile*) lily, Old Provençal lili, ili, Lat. LILEUM.

*Independènci*, independence, Cat. Sp. Port. independencia, Fr. indépendance, Lat. *INDEPENDENTIAM.

*Insoulènci*, insolence, Cat. Sp. Port. insolencia, Fr. insolence, Lat. INSOLENTIAM.

*Janissàri*, janissary, Port. janizaro, Fr. janissaire, Low Lat. (Mist.) JANIZARI, Turk. ieni-tchèri.

*Languitòri*, ennui, weariness. Connected with Rhodanien verb langui, Lat. LANGUERE.

*Lougatàri*, lodger, Old Provençal logadier, Folk Lat. LOCATARIUS for LOCATORIUS.

*Metroupòli*, metropolis, Cat. Sp. Port. It. metropoli, Lat. METROPOLIS.

*Milicounàri*, millionaire, Cat. millionari, Sp. millonario, Fr. millionnaire, It. millionario.

*Mourtuàri*, mortuary, Sp. Port. mortuario, Lat. MORTUUS + -ARIUS.

*Munificènci*, munificence, Cat. Sp. munificencia, Lat. MUNIFICENTIAM.

*Ourouscòpi*, horoscope, Cat. Port. horoscopo, It. oroscopo, Lat. HARUSPICIUM.

*Parlamentàri*, officer with a flag of truce, Sp. parlamentario, Low Lat. PARLAMENTARIUS.

*Pàti*, meadow, uncultivated land, interior court. Mistral gives Lat. PASTUM which seems improbable. Probably connected with Sp. *patio*, Cat. pati, Lat. PATIDUS (roomy) (Meyer-Lübke, Wört. 6291a).

*Pensiounàri*, boarder, Cat. pensionari, Fr. pensionnaire, Lat. PENSIONEM + -ARIUS.

*Petròli*, petroleum, Cat. petrol, It. petrolic, Sp. Port. petroleo, Fr. petrole, Lat. PETRA + -OLEUM.

*Pòrri*, leak. Probably Marseille dialect (see càrri). Commoner form is porre. Old Provençal por, porre, Lat. PORRUM.

*Poupoulàri*, popular, Old Provençal popular, Lat. POPULARIS.

*Prelùdi*, prelude, It. Sp. Port. preludio.

*Prouvisòri*, provisional, Port. provisorio, Fr. provisoire, Lat. PROVISORIUS.

*Quèli*, pot, black coat, Lat. (Mist.) CHELYON.

*Rànci*, rancid, old person, Old Provençal ranc, Lat. RANCIDUS.

*Recàti*, (*recate*), care of household, economy, Old Provençal recapte. Probably Marseille dialect (see càrri).

*Refeitòri*, refectory. Old Provençal refector, Fr. refectoire, Lat. REFECTORIUM.

*Repertòri*, repertory, Fr. répertoire. Connected with Latin verb REPERIRE.

*Rousàri*, rosary, Cat. rosari, Lat. ROSARIUM.

*Sardòni*, sardonyx, Old Provençal sardonic, Lat. SARDONYX.

*Scenàri*, scenario, dramatic action, It. scenario, Cat. escenari, Lat. SCENA + -ARIUM.

*Seculàri*, secular, Old Provençal secular, Lat. SECULARIS.

*Semenàri*, seminary, Sp. Port. It. seminario, Lat. SEMINARIUM.

*Senòdi*, synod, Lat. SYNODIUM.

*Sèti*, seat, stool, Old Provençal seti, Sp. sitio. Connected with Lat. SEDEM.

*Sòci*, comrade, Port. Sp. socio, Lat. SOCIUM.

*Soulàci*, (*soulas*) relief, consolation, Old Provençal solatz, Lat. SOLATIUM.

*Tèdi*, disgust, ennui, Cat. tedi, Sp. Port. tedio, Lat. TAEDIUM.

*Tempèri*, storm, bad weather, Old Provençal tempier, Lat. TEMPERIES.

*Tragèdi*, (*tragèdio*) tragedy, Cat. Sp. Port. It. tragedia, Lat. TRAGOEDIAM.

*Ùstri*, oyster, Old Provençal ostra, Lat. OSTREAM.

158. In this section will be treated a number of words of obscure etymology. Their form causes them to be grouped with the other foreign words ending in unstressed *-i*.

*Aiòli*, kind of dressing made with garlic, Sp. ajolio.

*Auvàri*, accident, misfortune. Mistral gives Old Provençal auvalli, Low Lat. ORVALIUM.

*Basòfi*, silly, imbecile, Sp. bazofia, It. battisoffia.

*Belòri*, (*belòrio*) luxury of adornment, Old Provençal belor, Connected with Lat. BELLUS.

*Bèrbi*, canker in a tree, insulting name for peasant at Marseilles, Old Provençal derti, derbi, berbi, Gallic derbita.

*Beulòli*, sort of owl, Old Provençal, Cat. oliba (Mist.).

*Bòchi*, ram, Old Provençal boc, Germ. bock.

*Bòri*, (*bòrio*) barn, farm, Old Provençal boaria, boria, Lat. BOARIA (Mist.).

*Boucòni*, little piece, mouthful, Old Provençal bocon.

*Calèti*, cry school children use when they cause their comrades to retreat after a challenge. Mistral gives no etymology.

*Carivèndi*, one who sells dear. Modern formation.

*Cièri*, common name of the Old Roman theatre at Orange, Old Provençal gir, Lat. CIRCUM.

*Desfèci*, ennui, disgust, Old Provençal desfeci, defeci, defesi. Connected with Latin verb DEFICERE.

*Enfèrri*, (*enfèrrio*) hobbles, Old Provençal enferriar, to put in irons.

*Engàmbi*, detour, pretext, Old Provençal (Mist.) encrambi, Lat. AMBAGES.

*Enràbi*, (*enrage*) rage, action of enraging, Old Provençal (Mist.) arapi. Connected with Old Provençal verb enrabiar.

*Ensàrri*, (*ensàrrio*) pair of rush baskets. Probably connected with Old Provençal sarria. Meyer-Lübke (Wört. 7518) connects it with Goth. sahrja.

*Escàfi*, irony, pretense, English, scoff (Mist.).

*Esglàsi*, (*esglàri*) fear, terror. Connected with Old Provençal verb esglaziar, to frighten.

*Eslùci*, flash, Old Provençal esluchar, Lat. EXLUCIDARE.

*Espeiòti*, child who tears his clothes, tattered person, Old Provençal verb, espeillar, on root of Lat. SPOLIAM.

*Esquichèti*, (*à l'esquichèti*) by pressing. Connected with the verb *esquicha*, etymology obscure.

*Estràngi*, great fear, anxiety, Old Provençal transe (Mist.). Probably connected with Rhod. *transi*, to die.

*Fàuvi*, sumach, Old Provençal falb, faub, fauve (pale tawny color), Lat. Germ. FALVUS (Meyer-Lübke, Wört. 3174).

*Gàmbi*, crooked, limping. Mistral suggests Low Lat. CAMBEUS, from Lat. SCAMBUS, bowlegged.

*Gàubi*, (*garbe*, *gàrbi*) natural ease, grace. Probably connected with Old Provençal garbier, adroit, graceful and It. garbo, grace.

*Gavàrri*, hard tumor on the foot of a horse. Port. gavarro.

*Gimerre*, large mule, brutal man, Heb. (Mist.) chamor.

*Glàri*, affliction, sorrow, fear, same root as esglari, esglazi, Old Provençal glai.

*Gòrri*, little pig, Old Provençal gorret, gorrin, Gr. pig (Mist.) Meyer-Lübke gives gorr, onomatopoeic form, cf. also Germ. gorren, to grunt. Perhaps connected with Gall. *crinos, hog, (Meyer-Lübke Wört. 2328) from which Piemontese krin or kurin.

*Gregàli*, (Mist. Isclo d'Or, *gregau*) wind from northeast, Cat. Sp. gregal.

*Grèpi*, numbness from cold, Low Lat. (Mist.) GUERPUS.

*Lènci*, line, fish-line, It. lezna.

*Lèpi*, piece, blow. Mistral suggests Sp. lapo and Eng. lop.

*Lùri*, (*lùrio*) otter, Old Provençal loira, loiria, luria, Lat. LUTRAM.

*Mòssi*, cabin-boy, Old Provençal mos, Fr. mousse, Sp. mozo, It. mozzo, Lat. MUTIUS.

*Mòti*, ram without horns, Lat. MUTILUS (Mist.).
*Nòli*, (*nòlis*) freight, Old Provençal noli, nolit, Lat. NAULUM.
*Pantòri*, sort of triangular sail, Old Fr. pantoire, connected with Lat. PENDERE.
*Papàrri*, poppy, Old Provençal papaver, It. papavero, Lat. PAPAVER.
*Pelòfi*, poor wretch, ragged creature, Mistral gives no etymology. Perhaps connected with same root as espeiòti, *i.e.* from Old Provençal espeillar, Lat. SPOLIARE.
*Perùssi*, (*perùssio*) wild pear. Connected with Lat. PIRUM.
*Plèti*, baton, stick, Russ. pleti, Lat. PLECTRUM.
*Pòchi*, pocket, hollow. Mistral gives It. bozza, Low Lat. pocchia. Perhaps Fr. poche, Frankish pokko (Meyer-Lübke 6631).
*Ràfi*, farm-hand, Arab. réfik.
*Rebòbi*, (*revòbis*) feast. Mistral gives no etymology.
*Refoulèri*, whim, caprice, Old Provençal refoleiar, Lat. FOLLIS.
*Reinàubi*, kind of bird, Fr. cul-blanc, Eng. wheat-ear.
*Relàmbi*, respite, relief, Old Provençal (Mist.) relaps, relais Fr. relaps, Lat. RELAPSUS.
*Relòpi*, restive, rebellious, Old Provençal reiropios.
*Renòsi*, (*renous*) grumbling, scolding, Old Provençal renos, rainos.
*Rùssi*, buzzard, Old Provençal (Mist.) ruissa.
*Sabatòri*, place where the sabbat was held. Connected with Lat. SABBATUM.
*Sòfi*, (*sòfio*) whitebait (fish), Old Provençal (Mist.) sophia.
*Soulàmi*, (*soulòmi*) monotonous song or chant, Sp. saloma, Lat. CELEUMA (Mist.).
*Tafòri*, noise, disturbance. Mistral gives no etymology.
*Tantalòri*, lunatic, visionary. Mistral gives no etymology.
*Tarabastèri*, noisy child. Connected with Old Provençal tabustire, to make a noise.
*Tòchi*, stroke, blow. Onomatopoeic word, Old Provençal toc, It. tocco, Sp. toque, cf. Eng. tic-toc.
*Tòti*, trunk of a tree. Mistral gives no etymology.
*Tràmsi*, trance, anxiety. Port. transe, Sp. trance, Latin verb TRANSIRE.
*Treboulèri*, disturbing, Old Provençal trebolar, Folk Lat. TURBULARE.
*Tressimàci*, inextricable thing, inexplicable affair. Old Provençal tresimar (Mist.).
*Trigòssi*, noise, confusion. Mistral gives no etymology.

### Accessory Sounds.

159. Certain sounds are developed at times for phonetic reasons. Sometimes the sound is a vowel and sometimes a consonant.

160. s initial followed by a consonant develops a prosthetic e in Folk Latin (§ 140) (Grandgent, Vulgar Latin, § 230).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| SCALAM | escala | *escalo* |
| SCRIBERE | escriure | *escriéure* |
| STRICTUM | estrech | *estré* |

161. The group ml develops *b*, giving *mbl* (§ 66, 2).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CUMULARE | comblar | *coumbla* |
| HUMILEM | umble | *umble* |
| INSIMUL | ensemble | *ensèmble* |

162. The group mr develops *b*, giving *mbr* (§ 66, 5).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CAMERA | cambra | *chambro* |
| MEMORARE | membrar | *membra* |
| NUMERUM | nombre | *noumbre* |

163. The group lr develops *d* giving *ldr* (§ 79, 2).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ABSOLVERE | absoldre | *absoudre* |
| FULGUR | foldre | *foudre* |

164. The group nr develops *d* giving *ndr* (§ 71, 4).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CINEREM | cendre | *cèndre* |
| PONERE | ponre | *poundre* |
| TENERUM | tendre | *tèndre* |

165. A word beginning with the rounded vowel *ou* or the diphthong *ue* has a tendency to develop *v*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| UNDECIM | onze | *vounge* |
| UNGERE | onher | *vougne* |
| HODIE | oi | *vuei* |
| OCTEM | ueg | *vue* |

(a) The *v* in *avoust*, Old Provençal agost, aost, avost, is due to same cause although the *v* is of earlier date in this word as it is found in Old Provençal (§ 124, 1a).

## PART II.—MORPHOLOGY

166. In morphology we are dealing with phenomena which are usually exceptions to phonetic laws and which show the workings of analogy. It is not the intention in the present work to discuss those forms in Rhodanien which have developed regularly from Old Provençal, but only to treat new formations, such for example as the perfects in *-gu-*, Rhod. *agùere*, Old Provençal ac; Rhod. *partiguère*, Old Provençal parti.

167. Old Provençal had a two case declension and flectional s played an important part in distinguishing between the nominative and accusative case. When the finals became silent this inflection disappeared. The accusative is the basis of the modern forms except in a few instances where the nominative has survived as in the personal pronouns and exceptionally in a very limited number of nouns, such as " vocative " personal names.

### Article, Definite and Indefinite.

168. The singular of the definite article in Rhodanien is phonetically regular, Old Provençal lo, la, surviving as *lou*, *la*. In the plural, instead of preserving los, las, Rhodanien has kept the masculine plural *li* which serves for both genders. The survival of the nominative plural *li* is due to the fact that it is the more distinctive form. With the fall of the final *s*, the forms los, las, became the same as the singular, hence the nominative *li* survived. An *s* is added to *li* before a plural word beginning with a vowel: *lis ome*, the men. This s is due to a crossing of li with los, las. The final s became silent first before consonants and was preserved before vowels. When *li* began to replace los, las it remained *li* before consonants but became *lis* before vowels. The retention of *s* in adjective plurals before nouns beginning in a vowel (§ 173) is a similar phenomenon.

169. In the indefinite article we must note the plural in *i*, due to the influence of the plural *li* of the definite article (§ 168). In Old Provençal the plural of the indefinite article was used with a collective force of several objects of the same kind, as unas letras, a letter. In Rhodanien *ùni* occurs only of things used in the plural and is equivalent to " a pair of," as *ùni cisèu*, a pair of scissors; *ùni soulié*, a pair of shoes. (Cf. Schultz-Gora, § 122).

ADJECTIVES

170. The inflection of the adjective must be discussed under two heads, the formation of the feminine and the formation of the plural.

171. In Old Provençal adjectives can be divided into two classes, those which derive from adjectives of the BONUS BONA, type, having a special form for the feminine and those which derive from the GRANDIS, GRANDIS, type, having a single form for the masculine and feminine. In the modern tongue a leveling has taken place and all adjectives have conformed to the first type and have a special form for the feminine ending in *o*, the modern representative of the Old Provençal final a.

| | |
|---|---|
| *bon*(BONUM) | *bono*(BONAM) |
| *segur*(SECURUM) | *seguro*(SECURAM) |
| *grand*(GRANDEM) | *grando*(GRANDEM) |

(a) In certain cases we find in the feminine a consonant that has disappeared from the masculine because it has become final or vocalized.

| | |
|---|---|
| *premié*(PRIMARIUM) | *premiero*(PRIMARIAM) |
| *se*(SICCUM) | *seco*(SICCAM) |
| *ami*(AMICUM) | *amigo*(AMICAM) |
| *bèu*(BELLUM) | *bello*(BELLAM) |
| *nòu*(NOVUM) | *novo*(NOVAM) |

(b) In certain cases phonetic development has involved a change of the consonant preceding the *o*.

| | |
|---|---|
| *sage*(SABIUM) | *sajo*(SABIAM) |
| *proudigue*(PRODIGUM) | *proudigo*(PRODIGAM) |
| *mut*(MUTUM) | *mudo*(MUTAM) |
| *benin*(BENIGNUM) | *benigno*(BENIGNAM) |

(c) The Latin suffix -ATRIX has survived in the form *-airis*.
*encantaire*(INCANTATOR) *encantairis*(INCANTATRIX)

Remark. A few traces of the old type remain. *Grand* is frequently used both for the masculine and the feminine. Mistral, *em'uno grand cuiero* (Mem. e Rac. p. 56).

172. The adjective has preserved traces of the old method of forming the plural and has developed a new method.

173. An adjective terminating in the masculine singular by a

consonant, or a tonic vowel (diphthong or triphthong) preserves the old flectional s of the plural before a substantive commencing with a vowel.

| | |
|---|---|
| *un poulit enfant*, a pretty child. | *li poulits enfant*, the pretty children. |
| *un bon ami*, a good friend. | *li bons ami*, the good friends. |
| *un vièi ase*, an old donkey. | *li vièis ase*, the old donkeys. |

Remark. This method of showing the plural is incomplete as there is no change in the adjective before substantives commencing with consonants. Thus the difference between *lou bon drole* and *li bon drole* is not shown by the adjective but only by the article. In this connection we might note that phonetically the same thing has occurred in French. While both the article and the adjective show the plural in *les bons amis*, in *les bons garçons* the article alone shows the plural as far as the ear is concerned. The Provençal has kept the *s* in this case only where it is pronounced.

(a) Adjectives ending in s in the masculine singular do not add *s*.

| | |
|---|---|
| *lou faus ami*, the false friend. | *li faus ami*, the false friends. |

174. Masculine adjectives ending in unaccented *e*, and feminine adjectives, which always end in *o*, change *e* and *o* to *i* in the plural. This *i* becomes *is* before words beginning with a vowel.

| | |
|---|---|
| *lou tèndre cor*, the tender heart. | *li tèndri cor*, the tender hearts. |
| *lou tèndre amant*, the tender lover. | *li tèndris amant*, the tender lovers. |
| *la poulido chato*, the pretty girl. | *li poulidi chato*, the pretty girls. |
| *la vièio amigo*, the old friend. | *li vièiis amigo*, the old friends. |

(a) Adjectives ending in *co* or *go* change the *c* and *g* to *qu* and *gu* before the *i* of the plural. (This of course, is purely graphic.)

| | |
|---|---|
| *la fresco aureto*, the cool breeze. | *li fresquis aureto*, the cool breezes. |
| *uno longo esprovo*, a long trial. | *li longuis esprovo*, the long trials. |

Remark. (1) Koschwitz (Gr. § 45) says that this *i* (*is*) has no connection with the i of the plurals of the second declension in Latin, and he attributes it to the Old Provençal plurals in as, es. This final s, he says, changed to *i* and the resulting diphthong *ei* was later reduced to *i*. He notes that in the dialect of Marseille these adjectives have *ei*. Mistral, in his *Tresor* under *s*, gives the same explanation of these *i* plurals. It is quite true that the Rhodanien plurals are represented in the Marseille dialect by *ei*. To prove his theory, however, Koschwitz would have to show that the Rhodanien *i* plurals are a reduction of an earlier *ei*, which is doubtful. Against his theory also stands the fact that *mi*, *ti*, *si*, *li*, *di*, *i*, are *mei*, *tei*, *sei*, *lei*, *dei*, *ei* in the Marseilles dialect and all add *s* before words beginning with a vowel. These forms show that the *ei* is not the development of es but rather the regular equivalent of the Rhodanien final *i* in the Marseilles dialect just as the Rhodanien final unstressed *e* is represented in the Marseilles dialect by *i*, *sàgi* for *sage; àmi* for *ame* etc.

Paul Meyer (Romania XIV, pp. 291–292) notes the appearance of the i plurals in certain of the old texts of the 12th and 13th centuries. He calls this older i plural " un débris latin." He also mentions the Rhodanien forms in *i*, quoting examples from Mistral, but does not definitely state that the modern form is a survival of the older form. Morf evidently considers the modern form a survival of the old plurals in i as he remarks that Meyer-Lübke has not included Provençal among the languages that preserved the Latin final i. Meyer-Lübke (Gr. II, p. 82) declares that this is not the case. He says that the *i* of *beli*, *amadi*, cannot be put in the same category at all as the final *i* of the Obwald dialect because in the latter dialect the *i* of the perfects such as AUDI and of VIGINTI remained, where they fell very early in Provençal (Grandgent, Old Provençal § 51, 2) as did the *i* in the substantives. To regard the *i* plurals of the modern Provençal as a survival of the Latin i would demand a special treatment of the *i* in adjectives which is not likely. He further suggests a much better explanation, that the *i* of the article *li* was extended first to a few special cases such as *tanti*, *quanti*, *autri*, then to the demonstratives *aqueli*, *aquesti* and finally to all the adjectives. In support of this theory he notes a similar influence of the article on the adjectives in the Emilien dialect.

Remark. (2) It can be seen therefore that of the two methods of showing the plural, one, the plural in *s*, is a persistence of an

older form while the other, the plural in *i*, is a new formation due to the influence of the article.

### Numerals

175. Among the numerals the ordinals alone show new formations. In Old Provençal the ordinals from six up were formed by means of the suffix -en, -ena which was used in Latin with numerals in a distributive force. In the modern tongue this formation has been extended to all the ordinals. While we have the forms *premié* and *segound* we also have *unen, dousen.* Then too there has been a confusion of suffixes. In Old Provençal besides the suffix -en, -ena, there was a very common adjectival and noun suffix -enc, -enca (Adams, pp. 178, 306). In the masculine these two suffixes gave the same results in the modern tongue, *i.e. -en.* In the feminine there are two forms *-eno* and *-enco.* The Old Provençal ordinals should have given *-en, -eno* but through the influence of the common adjectival suffix they have given *-en, -enco.*

Remark. Utterly disregarding the significance of the Old Provençal feminines in -ena, Koschwitz derives the modern forms from the ending -enc, -enca which he attributes to a Latin suffix -INQUUM, -INQUAM as in the Latin PROPINQUUS. Adams, more correctly attributes this ending to a Germanic suffix, -inco (Adams, pp. 178–180).

### Pronouns

176. Personal Pronouns. For the sake of comparison we will give a table of the Old Provençal forms and their derivatives in the modern tongue.

Old Provençal

| Subj. | Dir. Ob. | Ind. Obj. | Disj. |
|---|---|---|---|
| eu, ieu | me(mi) | me(mi) | me(mi) |
| tu | te(ti) | te(ti) | te(ti) |
| el(elh, il, ilh) | lo | li(lui) | lui(el, elh) |
| ela(elha, ilh) | la | li(lui, lei, lieis, lhi) | lieis(liei, ela) |
| nos | nos | nos | nos |
| vos | vos | vos | vos |
| il(ilh, elh) | los | lor | els(elhs, lor) |
| elas(elhas) | las | lor | elas(elhas, lor) |

Rhodanien

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *iéu* | *me* | *me* | *iéu* |
| *tu* | *te* | *te* | *tu* |
| *éu* | *lou* | *ié* | *éu* |
| *elo* | *la* | *ié* | *elo* |
| *nous* | *nous* | *nous* | *nous* |
| *vous* | *vous* | *vous* | *vous* |
| *éli* | *li(s)* (*lèi*) | *ié* | *éli* |

177. A comparison of the two tables reveals three facts.

(a) The subject forms of the conjunctives have replaced the Old Provençal disjunctives.

(b) A new form *éli* has replaced the masculine and feminine plurals il, elas.

(c) A new form *ié* has taken the place of the indirect object forms li, lor.

178. Grandgent (Old Provençal § 125, 3) says that some dialects preserve the final *i* of *éli* and refers to § 51 (1) of the same work where he notes that in certain sections final I was preserved as late as the 12th century. He also refers to Meyer-Lübke, Gr. II, p. 82.

In the final *i* of *éli* we are dealing with a plural of the same nature and origin as the plurals of adjectives in *i* (§ 174). Just as the *i* of the article *li* passed to the adjectives so it passed to the pronoun *el* giving a plural *éli* which displaced the feminine plural elas as *li* displaced the feminine plural las of the article. If we regard the *i* of *éli* as a survival of the Latin I then we must suppose a different treatment for final I in ILLI from the final I in the substantives and in AUDI and VIGINTI as pointed out by Meyer-Lübke (Gr. II, p. 82). Then too if the *i* of *éli* is of Latin origin we ought to have had *ili* and not *éli* (Grandgent § 27; Schultz-Gora § 19).

179. In regard to the pronoun *ié* we can see its use by the following examples.

*Anèron pièi vèire lou papo que ié dounè sa benedicioun.* (Mistral, Mem. e Rac. p. 224). They went then to see the pope who gave them his blessing.

*Un matin sounè l'einat e ié diguè* (Mistral, Mem. e Rac. p. 221). One morning he called the oldest and said to him.

*La pouësìo que se i'es publica* (Mistral, Mem. e Rac. p. 220). The poetry which is published there.

*Mai coume faire per i'ana?* (Mistral, Mem. e Rac. p. 192). But what to do in order to go there?

*Iéu, ié pountounejant sa maneto febrouso* (Mistral, Mem. e Rac. p. 169). I, kissing her feverish little hand.

*Assetas-vous, midamisello, ma maire ié diguè* (Mistral, Mem. e Rac. p. 167). Sit down, ladies, my mother said to them.

From these examples we can see that *ié* is equivalent to the indirect object form *to him, to her, to them*, but also to the adverb *there*. Koschwitz (Gr. § 54) says that it is a crossing of the Old Provençal li, lui, liei, with the adverb i (IBI). That the use of the adverb i for the indirect object pronouns is of early date, the following examples will show.

Schultz-Gora, p. 121. On plus l'esgardon, plus i troban ad esgardar.

Appel, *Chrestomathie*, p. 88, 1, 11. Ne sei vezi no i aun unfert tan de que puscam vestir ne se ni nos.

Grandgent (§ 123) remarks that i served also as a dative pronoun *to it, to them*. This is the use that occurs with the French *y*. As to the beginning of this usage there are examples that show that it began even in folk Latin. So the question is not so much of usage as of form. Meyer-Lübke, Wört. 4252, mentions the Old Aragonese forms ive, ye, and Mistral in his Tresor gives ie, ye, and i as the Old Provençal forms. It is probable that the similarity of use of the adverb i and the pronouns lieis, leis etc. may have affected the form of the adverb i and produced *ié*. At any rate, in the modern tongue *ié* has displaced li, lor, at the same time retaining the adverbial force of there.

## VERB.

180. As in the case of the other parts of speech we will treat only those cases where, as the result of analogy or some other influence the modern forms are not the regular phonetic equivalents of the Old Provençal.

181. PRESENT INDICATIVE. In the first person singular we would expect no ending, as the Latin final o disappeared (§ 48) except in the case of those verbs ending in groups of consonants demanding a support vowel. (§ 50). Thus Old Provençal has cant, part, without ending, but tremble with the supporting e. Even in Old Provençal (Schultz-Gora § 130) a generalization had begun and in the modern tongue, aided by the influence of the second person in -es, this has become complete and we have *cante*,

*parte*, as well as *trèmble*. In the second person singular the Old Provençal -as of the first conjugation has weakened to *-es* and this has been extended to the other conjugations where the *e* is not regular. In the third singular the first conjugation is regular, having *o* from Old Provençal final a. In the other conjugations there is no ending, merely the stem of the verb. The final consonant is treated as the phonetic laws for final consonants demand. The plural endings are regularly developed from the Old Provençal except that we have *e* open instead of *e* close in the first person plural of the second, third and fourth conjugations (§ 17, 3, 4).

182. PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE. The first conjugation already had *e* in the verbs where a supporting vowel was required. This was generalized for all verbs. The third plural in *-on* came from the present indicative. These endings were extended to the other conjugations.

(a) For subjunctives in which we have *-gu-*, see § 186, 6.

183. IMPERFECT INDICATIVE. In the first conjugation the singular is regular except for the final *e* of the first person singular where we would expect *o*. The *e* is due to the influence of the first person singular of the present indicative (cf. *parlavo* instead of *parlava* in Italian due to the influence of *parlo*). In the other conjugations even in Old Provençal we find forms in ie instead of ia (Appel, Abriss der Formenlehre, p. XXIII). The shifting of the accent due to the plurals -iam, -iatz produced -ie, -ies, ie. The first singular has taken on *u* under the influence of the first person singular *siéu*(*èstre*). In the plural the endings are regular.

184. IMPERFECT SUBJUNCTIVE. The first and third persons singular have adopted the e of the second person influenced by the endings of the present subjunctive. The first and second plural in *-ian*, *-ias*, have come from the imperfect indicative.

185. There remain to be noted, in connection with the verb, two phenomena, the use of *-er-* in the formation of the perfect and the great extension of *-gu-* in the verbal forms of Rhodanien.

186. PERFECTS

| OLD PROVENÇAL | RHODANIEN |
|---|---|
| cantei | *cantère* |
| cantest | *cantères* |
| cantet | *cantè* |
| cantem | *canterian* |

| | |
|---|---|
| cantetz | *canterias* |
| canteron | *cantèron* |

An examination of these perfects shows that only the third singular and the third plural of the Rhodanien forms are derived regularly from Old Provençal. The *-er-* of the third plural, aided by the influence of the Old Provençal conditional cantera (Koschwitz, Gr. § 84), has invaded the other persons and also the other conjugations. To this *-er-* has been added by analogy the endings of the present in the first and second singular and the endings of the imperfect in the first and second plural.

(a) While the dialects show a great variety of forms there is no variation in the language of Mistral. All perfects end in *-ère, -ères, -è, -erian, -erias, -èron.*

187. The element *-gu-* had already appeared in Old Provençal. In Latin perfects of the HABUI, DEBUI, type, the hiatus U was treated like the Germanic W (Schultz-Gora § 150) and gave *g*(*gu*). When final the g became c. Thus the perfect of habere gave in Old Provençal aic, aguist, ac, aguem, aguetz, agron. This *-gu-* naturally appeared also in the imperfect subjunctive. From these two tenses the formation began to spread even in Old Provençal and in Rhodanien has invaded many other parts of the verb.

(1) PERFECT. To the element *-gu-* has been added the endings of the perfect of the first conjugation giving *-guère, -guères, -guè, -guerian, -guerias, -guèron.* In this way are formed the perfects of all verbs except those of the first conjugation.

(a) Verbs in *-i* and *-re* whose stems end in a consonant insert *i* and *e* between the stem and *-gu-*. Thus we have *puni, puniguère; rèndre, rendeguère; courre, courreguère.*

(b) Verbs whose stems end in a vowel or a consonant that may vocalize add the *-gu-* directly to the stem. Thus we have *absoudre, absouguère; dire, diguère; valé, vauguère; voulé, vouguère.*

(c) In many verbs the stem of the present participle is used to form the perfect. Thus, *couire, cousènt* or *couiènt, couseguère* or *couiguère; cregne, cregnènt, cregneguère; crèire, cresènt, creseguère; jougne, jougnènt, jougneguère.*

(d) The following verbs have irregular perfects in which *-gu-* is is lacking. *Councebre, councevènt,* has a perfect formed on the stem of the present participle, *councevère* and one *counçaupère* formed on the Old Provençal perfect conceup (Schultz-Gora § 151)

probably influenced by *saupère*. *Poudé, poudènt* or *pousquènt* has a perfect formed on the stem of *pousquènt, pousquère*. *Sabé, sachent,* has one perfect *sachère* formed on the stem of *sachènt* and one *saupère* formed on the Old Provençal perfect saup (Schultz-Gora § 146). *Viéure visquènt,* has *visquère* formed on the Old Provençal perfect visc (Schultz-Gora § 138) which has also influenced the present participle *visquènt*.

(2) IMPERFECT SUBJUNCTIVE. This tense is formed, in every case, on the same stem as the perfect.

(3) PAST PARTICIPLE. Even in Old Provençal the -gu- had invaded the past participle and we have such form as agut, begut, cazegut, cregut, degut, iagut, mogut, pagut, plagut, pogut, tengut, tolgut, valgut, vengut, vegut, volgut. Of these forms we still have *agu, begu, casegu, creigu, degu, jagu, mougu, plaigu, tengu, vaugu, vengu, vougu*. Past participles of this type have increased greatly and we have besides the ones mentioned above also the following: *chaure, chaugu; couire, cousegu; counèisse, couneigu; courre, courregu, cregne, cregnegu; crèisse, creissegu; fegne, fegnegu; fouire, fousegu; lèire, legu; mouse, mousegu; nouire, nousegu; parèisse, pareigu; pegne, pegnegu; plagne, plagnegu; plòure, plougu; sèire, segu*.

(a) The following verbs have irregular past participles. *Councebre* has preserved the Old Provençal *counceupu*. In *pouscu* from *poudé* we see the *sc* that originated in the Old Provençal present subjunctive and crept into the perfect (§ 187, 1d) and the past participle. *Sabé* has *sauchu* in which the *ch* has come from the present participle *sachènt*. In *viscu* from *viéure* the *sc* comes from the perfect stem (§ 187, 1d).

(4) INFINITIVE. The *-gu-* has in some cases invaded the infinitive although these formations are of very recent date. Thus we have the following doublets; *avé, agué; valé, vaugué; voulé, vougé; falé faugué*.

(a) In connection with these infinitive doublets we might mention *sabé, saupré; poudé, pousqué; recebre, reçaupre;* where the second form in each case has been formed under the influence of the perfect.

(5) PRESENT PARTICIPLE. Here also the *-gu-* has caused the following doublets: *avènt, aguènt; voulènt, vouguènt; poudènt, pouguènt*.

(6) PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE. Here the forms with *-gu-* have become almost the rule and those without the exception. The

following is the list of those with *-gu-; adurre, adugue; ana, vague; queri, aquerigue; ausi, ausigue; beure, begue; bouli, bouligue; caire, caigue; chaure, chaugue; claure, claugue; coundurre, coundugue; crèire, cresegue* or *crèigue; culi, culigue; curbi, curbigue; destruire, destruigue; dèure, degue; dire, digue; dourmi, dourmigue; escriéure, escrigue; faire, fague; falé, faugue; jaire, jaigue* or *jague; mòure, mougue; nouire, nouigue; oufri, oufrigue; parèisse, parèigue; plaire, plaigue; plòure, plòugue; pourgi, pourgigue; prèndre, prengue; rire, rigue; segui, seguigue; soufri, soufrigue; valé, vaugue; vèire, vegue; veni, vengue; vincre (venci), vengue; civoulé, vougue.*

Finis

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